

XVI. The Decline and Fall of the Middle Kingdom

1. The Thirteenth Dynasty

IN THE LIGHT of the discoveries of recent years the old conception of the century which followed the end of the Twelfth Dynasty as an era of political chaos and cultural collapse has had to be extensively revised. From their number, the brevity of their reigns, and the evidently frequent interruptions in the dynastic succession it is clear that the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty were neither as strong nor as wise as their predecessors of the Twelfth Dynasty. Moreover, it is certainly true that the instability of the royal succession had a detrimental effect on the prosperity of the country and on the standards demanded of and maintained by its artists and craftsmen. On the other hand, it is evident that, barring intrigues within the palace, the power of a single central government continued to be respected throughout most of Egypt itself, royal building activities and other public enterprises were carried on in both the north and the south, and, until late in the eighteenth century B.C., Egyptian prestige in Palestine and Syria remained largely unshaken.

Like their predecessors of the Twelfth Dynasty most of the members of the new royal house appear to have been Thebans, related perhaps by blood or by marriage to the rulers whom they succeeded. Their works at Deir el Baḥri, Karnak, Medamūd, and Ṭōd show a continued devotion

to the Thebaid and its gods, and many of their personal names — Amun-em-ḥêt, Montu-ḥotpe, Nefer-ḥotep, In-yōtef—are of pure Theban type. The seat of government, however, remained, as before, in the region of Memphis, and the palace and fortified city of It-towy, near el Lisht, continued in use as a residence of the kings. One of two small pyramids of the Thirteenth Dynasty at South Saḳḳāreh was prepared for the burial of King Woser-ku-Rê⁶ Khendjer I and it is probable that the remains of two others, at Mazghūneh, belong to this period, rather than to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, as was previously thought.

An inheritance from the Twelfth Dynasty was the extremely popular and widespread cult of the crocodile god Sobk. During the Thirteenth Dynasty personal names compounded with that of the god became increasingly common, and the name Sobk-ḥotpe (“Sobk-is-content”) was borne by no less than six of its kings. Especially popular was the form of the god worshiped at Sumenu in southern Upper Egypt. Other kings’ names, such as that of Wegaf, were previously unknown, and it is probable that their owners were usurpers, rather than legitimate heirs to the throne.

In the Museum’s collection, as in many others, the kings and other royal personages of the Thirteenth Dynasty are represented chiefly by a series of cylinder and scarab-shaped seals of glazed

steatite (fig. 226). In addition to the names, titles, and indications of family relationships which they bear, those of known provenience are of especial interest as indicating the geographical spheres of influence of the respective rulers and the localities in which their names carried the weight of royal authority.

Sekhem-Rē^c Khu-towy Amun-em-ḥēt Sobk-ḥotpe (I), the founder of the dynasty, is represented by two small monuments, both ★cylinder seals, preserving in one instance his two personal names and in the other his throne name, accompanied by the epithet "beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu." A large and well-cut ★cylinder seal from Mi^calleh, in southern Upper Egypt, gives the full titulary of his successor: "The Horus Meh-yeb-towy, He-of-the-Two-Goddesses, Ity-sekhemef, the Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekhem-ku-Rē^c, Son of Rē^c, of his body, Amun-em-ḥēt Sonebef, given life, stability, and well-being, like Rē^c, forever."

A famous ★cylinder seal of lapis lazuli, formerly in the Carnarvon collection, is inscribed in hieroglyphic characters for the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seḥetep-yeb-Rē^c (II), beloved of Ḥat-Ḥor, Mistress of Byblos," and in cuneiform script for Prince Yakin-ilum of Byblos, a Canaanite "servant," or "officer," of the king of Egypt. This Yakin-ilum has been identified as the father of Prince Yantin (Jonathan), who is represented on a relief, found at Byblos, in the presence of one of Seḥetep-yeb-Rē^c's best-known successors, King Kha^c-sekhem-Rē^c Nefer-ḥotep.

The sixth king of the dynasty, "the Good God, Se^cankh-yeb-Rē^c," is named on a glazed steatite ★cylinder seal as "one beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu," and a ★scarab of the same material bears the name of the second Sobk-ḥotpe, evidently a man of nonroyal descent, who calls himself simply "the son of Montu-ḥotpe."

A ★cylinder seal and a ★scarab of Kuy Amun-em-ḥēt give, respectively, his Horus name, Ḥery-^ctep-towy, followed by the ever-present assurance of the esteem of Sobk of Sumenu, and his throne

name as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Se-djefa-ku-Rē^c.

There appear to have been two kings with the un-Egyptian personal name Khendjer, one of whom is named in monumental hieroglyphs on a fragment of architectural ★tile of blue faience found at el Lisht near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I. Since the fragment preserves only the lower part of the cartouche with the king's personal name, there is no way of knowing whether we have to do with Woser-ku-Rē^c Khendjer, the owner of the pyramid at South Saḳḳāreh, or with Ny-kha^c-ny-ma^cet-Rē^c Khendjer, mentioned on two stelae from Abydos now in the Louvre. The unmistakable praenomen of the latter occurs on a ★scarab of glazed steatite side by side with that of a King Nefer-ku-Rē^c, whom it is tempting to identify with the "[Senefer?]-ku-Rē^c," listed in the Turin Papyrus next but one after Khendjer I. A second ★scarab of Thirteenth Dynasty type with the name of the same king, again written "Nefer-ku-Rē^c," leads one to suppose that this is the correct form of the name.

We come now to the three most substantial and extensively documented rulers of the dynasty—Sobk-ḥotpe III and the brothers, Nefer-ḥotep and Sobk-ḥotpe IV.

The elaborate legends on four steatite ★scarabs and two mud ★sealings give the names of "the Good God, Sekhem-Rē^c Sewadj-towy Sobk-ḥotpe (III), (May he live forever!)," accompanied in one case by the name of his father, "the Father of the God, Montu-ḥotpe," and in four instances by that of his mother, "the King's Mother, Yuḥet-yebu." Two of the scarabs were found in the surface rubbish near the pyramid of Amun-em-ḥēt I at el Lisht, and both sealings are from offerings brought to the mortuary temple of Se'n-Wosret I (see p. 191). The king's Horus name, Khu-towy, is preserved on a steatite ★cylinder seal of unknown provenience, with the accompanying epithet, "beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu."

The names of King Kha^c-sekhem-Rē^c Nefer-ḥotep, known from Nubia to Byblos, appear on



three ★scarabs similar in style to those of Sobk-hotpe III. On one scarab the praenomen, Kha-sekhem-Rē, is followed by the phrase engendered of the Father of the God, Ḥa-ankhef." On the two others the nomen, or personal name, Nefer-hotep, is used, and the "King's Mother, Kemy," is mentioned. One of the latter scarabs is from el Lisht, and there, also, was found a large *shawabty*-figure of Prince Waḥ-Nefer-hotep, perhaps a son of the king (see pp. 349, 350).

Ten altogether similar ★scarabs, including three from el Lisht, are inscribed for King Kha-nefer-Rē Sobk-hotpe (IV). The names of the royal parents, Ḥa-ankhef and Kemy, preserved on these scarabs and on many other monuments of this reign make it clear that Sobk-hotpe IV was a younger brother of Nefer-hotep. He was not,

FIGURE 226. Cylinder seals and scarabs with the names of kings, queens, princes, and princesses of the Thirteenth Dynasty. L. 1½-2 in.

however, his direct successor, for, according to the Turin Papyrus, a king named Si-Ḥat-Ḥor ruled Egypt for a few months between the reigns of the two brothers. On a ★cylinder seal, formerly in the Murch collection and probably from the Fayyūm, "the Good God, Kha-nefer-Rē" is called "one beloved of Sobk, the Shedetite, and Horus, who is in the midst of Shedet." The ancient city of Shedet, near the modern Medīnet el Fayyūm, we may remember as one of the principal north Egyptian cult centers of the crocodile god and his son, Horus the Elder. It is surprising to find that the name of Sobk-hotpe IV occurs al-

most as frequently on ★scarabs of the New Kingdom and the Late Dynastic period as do those of the great pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty. Nine of eleven such scarabs in the Museum's collection bear both the praenomen Kha^c-nefer-Rē^c and the personal name Sobk-hotpe, leaving no doubt as to the identity of the king commemorated in this manner centuries after the time of his death.

From el Lisht come a ★scarab with the name of King Kha^c-hetep-Rē^c (Sobk-hotpe V) and a large spherical ★bead of glazed steatite inscribed for "the Good God, Wah-yeb-Rē^c (Ya^c-yeby), beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu." A ★cylinder seal and three almost identical ★scarabs bear the throne name of King Mer-nefer-Rē^c Iy, whose reign of nearly fourteen years—the longest recorded for the dynasty—produced few monuments of any other type.

Nehāsy, listed in the Turin Papyrus among the last rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty, was probably a vassal of the Hyksos conquerors of Egypt. As the King's Son Nehāsy, he is named on an obelisk from Avaris, the modern Šān el Ḥāgar, and as "the King's Eldest Son, Nehāsy," on a paste ★scarab in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 226, bottom row).

Other kings of the period whose names are preserved on ★scarabs in the Metropolitan Museum and elsewhere, but who are not listed in the Turin Papyrus, include Neb-djed-Rē^c (three scarabs, one with the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt"), Nefer-onekh-Rē^c, Nefer-kheper-Rē^c, and Kha^c-neferwy-Rē^c (= Kha^c-nefer-Rē^c Sobk-hotpe IV?). In addition, there are nine ★scarabs, mostly of the New Kingdom and later, which carry only the personal name Sobk-hotpe.

A ★scarab purchased in Luxor is inscribed for "the Son of Rē^c, Sobk-hotpe, born of the King's Mother, Nūb-hetepty," and the name of a Queen Nūb-hetepty, written within a cartouche, occurs on two similar ★scarabs, accompanied by the titles "King's Mother," "King's Wife," and "King's Great Wife, She-who-is-united-to-the-White-Crown." Three ★scarabs honor the "King's Great Wife, Iny," whose name also is

enclosed in a cartouche. The King's Wife, Sit-Sobk, and the King's Mother, Iy, are represented by one ★scarab each, and five other ★scarabs name the Kings' Sons Rou, Ruy, and Sobk-hotpe (two examples) and the King's Daughter Erdyetny-Ptah. Although most of these royal persons are known from monuments in other collections and are listed in Gauthier's *Livre des rois d'Égypte*, their identities and their relationships to specific kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty still remain matters of conjecture.

2. Stelae, Coffins, and Other Works of Art and

Craftsmanship Produced during the Thirteenth Dynasty

By and large, the art of the Thirteenth Dynasty represents nothing more than the attempt on the part of uninspired and inadequately trained craftsmen to reproduce the monuments and perpetuate the artistic traditions of the Middle Kingdom. Creditable imitations of the buildings, statues, and reliefs of the Twelfth Dynasty were produced by the ateliers attached to the courts of the ephemeral kings; but lesser patrons of the arts had to content themselves with work which at best was perfunctory and often downright bad. As in every period of artistic decadence, little true originality was exhibited, innovations consisting chiefly of the fussy elaboration of the classic models and the attempt to conceal, by means of a rather cheap gaudiness, the often deplorable lack of technical ability.

The decline already apparent under Amunem-hêt IV and Sobk-nefru, was probably not accentuated immediately by the accession of King Sobk-hotpe I and his earliest successors, and culturally the transition from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasty must have been almost imperceptible. For this reason we have included in our chapters on the daily life of the Middle Kingdom many small objects of a utilitarian nature which were certainly made during the Thirteenth Dynasty but which differ in no essential respect from those produced during the two preceding

centuries. Now, however, we come to several groups of monuments which not only are typical of the Thirteenth Dynasty but, stylistically and iconographically, are characteristic of no other period in Egyptian history.

Six small tomb stelae from Upper Egypt conform, with little variation, to a type especially common in the late Middle Kingdom (fig. 227). They are without exception small, rather thick slabs of limestone, rounded at the top and displaying in the lunette so formed a pair of large *wedjat*-eyes, grouped on either side of the \odot -symbol. The human figures, usually executed in *relief en creux*, tend to be small and subordinated in the compositions to the inscriptions, which are invariably incised. All were once painted in a few simple, primary colors—blue, red, black, and white—applied in a wholly conventional manner. The \odot -signs were blue with red centers, the eyes black and white with blue appendages, the inscriptions almost always a monochrome blue, and the flesh of the male figures red. The workmanship ranges from mediocre to poor and the style from a reasonably close approximation of the classic forms of the Twelfth Dynasty to the crude efforts of provincial craftsmen left more or less to their own devices.

Stylistically the best of the series in a ★stela from Abydos (fig. 227, upper left), inscribed with a long and interesting hymn to the god Mīn, here, as frequently, merged with his fellow divinity Horus and identified as the son of Osiris. “Adoration of Mīn,” says the text of the stela, “by the Hereditary Prince and Count, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Overseer of a Department (?), Khonsu, repeating life. He says: ‘Homage to thee, Mīn Ḥor-nakhte, Lord of Strength, who came forth from Chemmis, justified in the Double Plume!’ ” The hymn, which is known from other stelae of this period in the Cairo Museum, proceeds to tell how Mīn Horus overthrows his enemies and those of his father, Osiris, and ends with a prayer to the god to grant food offerings, services, and benefits in the hereafter to the owner of the stela, Khonsu, born of Idy. The fig-

ure of Khonsu, seen standing at the right, is not well proportioned, but is handled with assurance and sophistication, and the treatment of the long, transparent outer skirt is both ingenious and successful. The prominent hieroglyphic label “Adoring the God four times,” carved before the face of the figure, is seen also on a royal stela in the Louvre, which is similar in form, subject matter, and style to the present example and which shows the daughters of King Sobk-hotpe III standing in adoration before the god Mīn Ḥor-nakhte.

The ★stela of the Scribe of the Ḥarīm Soneb-ḥena^cef, son of the Vizier Ya^c-yeby, is from a small cemetery of the late Middle Kingdom at Deir el Bahri (fig. 227, upper center). The inscription, an offering formula invoking Osiris, is fairly well cut, but there is a curious lack of either style or spirit in the angular little figure of the owner seen seated at his funerary feast. The monument was dedicated by a brother of the deceased scribe, a “Controller of the Broad Hall,” also named Soneb-ḥena^cef. The Vizier, Ya^c-yeby, father of the two brothers, is known from a statuette now in Bologna, and perhaps is the man who became King Waḥ-yeb-Rē^c Ya^c-yeby, the successor of Sobk-hotpe V.

From the same cemetery comes the small and crudely executed ★stela of Neb-iry-er-au, an Overseer of the Fields and Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt (fig. 227, lower left). The offering formula calls, not upon Osiris or Anubis, but upon the god of Thebes, Amun Rē^c, Lord of Karnak, to grant the usual funerary offering. The owner of the stela, seated at the left holding a jar of scented ointment to his nose, is clad in the same long, transparent overskirt worn by Khonsu, above. His housekeeper, Neb-iry-er-au-em-ḥeswet, offers him a rather meager little jug and a conical loaf of bread. We may note in passing the near identity of the names to that of King Sewadj-en-Rē^c Neb-iry-er-awet of the Sixteenth Dynasty.

On a very similar ★stela from a tomb in the temple precinct of Se^cankh-ku-Rē^c Montu-hotpe (fig. 227, lower center), we see the Elder of the



FIGURE 227. Private tomb stelae of the Thirteenth Dynasty from Abydos, Thebes, and Hierakonpolis. Painted limestone. H. $9\frac{1}{2}$ -16 in.

Portal Si-Amūn standing between his mother (?) and father (?)—three ill-proportioned little figures with curious birdlike faces. The inscription, an offering formula to Osiris, tells us that Si-Amūn's father was a Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt named Amun-hotpe and his mother the House Mistress Ḥanu.

The same style—or lack of it—appears in a limestone ★stela of unknown provenience, for-

merly in the Amherst collection (fig. 227, upper right). The owner, Res, son of the Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt Au-res, is apparently the standing figure at the right. Facing him are a small, misshapen male figure, labeled Amun-khuf, and a beaky female, called “the Maidservant of the Prince, To.” The inscription, an offering formula invoking Ptah Sokar Osiris, states that the stela was dedicated by a brother of Res, the Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt Au-res—clearly the inheritor of his father's name and title.

Far and away the most interesting of the group

is a ★stela found by the Museum's Expedition in a tomb of the late Thirteenth Dynasty at Kōm el Aḥmar, fifty miles south of Thebes, in southern Upper Egypt (fig. 227, lower right). The ancient town of Nekhen (the Greek Hierakonpolis) which occupied the site was the center of the worship of a falcon god known in dynastic times as "Horus of Nekhen," and Ḥor-em-kha'uf, the owner of our stela, was the "Chief Inspector" of the priesthood of this celebrated divinity. Following a long and elaborate offering formula, in which are invoked all the local gods and goddesses of Nekhen, the text of the stela goes on to tell how Ḥor-em-kha'uf made a trip to the residence city of the king of Egypt to bring back images of his god and the god's mother, Isis, apparently newly made in the royal workshops for the temple at Nekhen. "Horus, Avenger-of-his-father," he says, "gave me a commission to the Residence, to fetch (thence) Horus of Nekhen together with his mother, Isis, justified. He appointed me as commander of a ship and crew because he knew me to be a competent official of his temple, vigilant concerning his assignments. Then I fared downstream with good dispatch, and I drew forth Horus of Nekhen in (my) hands together with his mother, this goddess, from the Good Office of It-towy in the presence of the King himself." The last sentence is historically important, for from it we learn that in Ḥor-em-kha'uf's day, the late Thirteenth Dynasty, the king of Egypt was in residence at It-towy, just north of el Lisht. Moreover, it is clear that from his capital in the region of Memphis he ruled Upper Egypt, certainly as far south as Kōm el Aḥmar, where he was so well known that it was felt unnecessary to mention his name.

The rest of Ḥor-em-kha'uf's autobiography, though of a more general and stereotyped nature, is worth quoting: "I was an excellent dignitary on earth and shall be an excellent spirit in the afterworld, since I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked and supported my brothers and sisters, not letting one beg property from another, (so that) every man said 'Welcome!' to

his mates. I cared for the house of those who nurtured me, and they were buried and commemorated. I offered labor to Horus, and Horus caused to be offered to me a vacation from labor in the temple, inasmuch as he loved me—the Chief Inspector of Priests of Horus of Nekhen, the Overseer of Fields, Ḥor-em-kha'uf, engendered of the Inspector of Priests, the Overseer of Fields, Thōty, justified, and born of the Royal Ornament, Ta-net-yeby, justified."

By a convention peculiar to provincial sculpture of both the late Old Kingdom and the late Middle Kingdom the figure of Ḥor-em-kha'uf, carved in true relief, is squat and heavy, while that of his wife, executed in *relief en creux*, is attenuated and angular.

The rectangular ★coffins of four middle-class Thebans of the Thirteenth Dynasty are from a cemetery of rock-cut tombs in the cliff north of Deir el Bahri. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the causeway to Ḥet-shepswet's temple was cut through the lower slope of the cliff, these tombs were destroyed and their contents were cached in groups in the valley below. Here they were found in 1919-1920 by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition.

The coffin of the *Wꜛb*-priest Ikhet (fig. 228) illustrates to perfection the peculiarities of the Thirteenth Dynasty type. The coffin proper, built of odd pieces of sycamore plank, is long, high, and narrow. It was provided with multiple floor battens, nine in number, and on the sides the vertical columns of inscription were correspondingly increased from four to nine, with one omitted on the left side to leave room for the eye panel. The eyes above the gaudily painted palace façade are enclosed within an elaborate panel resembling a large pectoral with a colored block border and cavetto cornice. Figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, very rare before the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, now appear on the ends of the box. The vault of the lid is far more pronounced than in similar coffin lids of the Twelfth Dynasty, and the end boards, characteristically edged with bands of color, are much higher and



FIGURE 228. Coffin of the *Wēb*-priest Ikhet from Thebes. Thirteenth Dynasty. L. 78 in.

heavier. The lid is inscribed with three long horizontal bands of text side by side on the vaulted upper surface.

The ground color of the coffin and lid is a shiny pitch black, applied over a coating of white stucco. The inscriptions are drawn in blue on bands of white, and the borders at the corners of the box and lid are white and blue. Yellow is used for the flesh color of the goddesses on the ends of the coffin and white for their garments. The eye panel is polychrome—blue, green, red, yellow, black, and white.

The style of the decoration, as can be seen, is crude and careless, the figures childishly drawn, and the inscriptions irregular and full of errors. For superstitious reasons all the hieroglyphs representing birds are drawn without legs, and the tails of the serpents (𐜪 and 𐜫) are cut off. The texts themselves are more or less garbled versions of those seen on the Twelfth Dynasty coffins of Hapy-ankhtify and Chnum-nakhte—excerpts

from the Pyramid Texts and the Middle Kingdom version of the Book of the Dead (see pp. 82, 83).

Of the three other coffins that of the Royal Ornament Nyet-nefret is exactly similar to the one illustrated and was evidently decorated by the same painter, who has made identical mistakes in the inscriptions on both monuments. The coffin of the *Wēb*-priest Nyet-em-Mar-em-saf differs only in the substitution of yellow for white in the bands of inscription and at the corners of the box and lid, in the insertion of a vertical column of text below the eye panel in place of the palace façade, and in the figures of the goddesses, which are drawn in yellow outline and labeled with their names, Isis and Nephthys.

It is probable that all these coffins were stock models, produced in quantity and sold ready made. This is clear in the fourth example of our group, which bears, in place of the name of an owner, the group 𐜪𐜫, best translated "So-and-so"—the ancient Egyptian equivalent of our "John Doe." This coffin is black, like the others, but its base is adorned all around with a high

paneled dado, the units of which are colored in succession blue, green, and red on a white ground.

With the coffin of Nyet-em-Mar-em-saf was found a ★canopic chest, matching the larger monument in construction, style, and color scheme. A curious feature of this chest is that it is oblong, not square, in plan, two of its sides being somewhat longer than the other two. On each side is drawn a figure of the canine animal of the god Anubis (𪓏), couchant above the symbols for "linen" (𐎃𐎃). The accompanying labels inform us that the four figures represent, respectively, Anubis, Lord of the Holy Land; Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming; Anubis, Lord of Naꜥ; and Anubis, Who is before the Divine Booth. The horizontal inscription above carries in each case the names of the Four Genii of the

2. STELAE, COFFINS, AND OTHER WORKS

Dead, and the vertical columns at the edges of the sides contain a long speech addressed to the Genii in behalf of "the Osiris, . . . , justified." The name of the owner was never written in the spaces provided for it, and they remain blank. The lid of the chest was not found, but from indications on the tops of the box walls it was clearly of the vaulted type seen on the coffins.

The remarkable gilded ★*shawabty*-figure of the King's Son Wah-Nefer-hotep (fig. 229), wrapped in linen and enclosed in a miniature rectangular ★coffin, was found in the area east of the pyramid of King Se'n-Wosret I at el Lisht, not far from the northern gateway of the mortuary temple.

FIGURE 229. *Shawabty*-figure and -coffin of Prince Wah-Nefer-hotep from el Lisht. Thirteenth Dynasty. H. of figure 8¼ in.



Evidently deposited by reverent hands, not thrown out by tomb robbers, the little coffin stood upright in the sand with three pottery offering jars, lined up in a neat row, leaning against it.

The owner, whose name means "(King)-Nefer-hotep-endures," was probably born in, or shortly after, the reign of King Kha^c-sekhem-Rē^c Nefer-hotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty and may have been a son of this well-known pharaoh. Such a dating is amply borne out by the form of the coffin, with its high, vaulted lid and very prominent end boards (cf. fig. 228), and by the coarse modeling and rather crude workmanship seen in the funerary figure.

The coffin is of wood, painted dark red and overlaid with bands of gold foil, on which the usual Thirteenth Dynasty coffin inscriptions are written in thick blue paint. The *shawabty* also is of wood, completely gilded and with the head, dress, eyes, and inscription painted in blue over the gold foil. Noteworthy is the manner in which the arms of the mummiform figure, crossed over the breast, are now represented in high relief, not, as in the earlier examples, concealed by the wrappings.

Even more interesting is the inscription on the figure, which reflects a new and not altogether praiseworthy attitude on the part of the deceased Egyptian toward his career in the hereafter and toward the part to be played in it by his little mummiform double. "O thou *shawabty*," says the text, "if the King's Son Wah-Nefer-hotep is seized for work which a man does under obligation—to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the banks, to transport sand of the west and of the east—'Here am I!' thou shalt say." In other words, the *shawabty*, once the honored resting place of a man's immortal soul, is now to be merely a convenient substitute for him in case he is called upon to do his share of anything faintly resembling hard work. The system of *corvée*, whereby in everyday life any citizen of Egypt could be called upon to devote his labor to the public

welfare and the needs of the state, was now evidently thought to exist also in the afterworld. On earth only the wealthy could afford to pay substitutes to do their share of the required labor, but thanks to his *shawabty* every Egyptian could now look forward to a life of ease in and beyond the tomb. The notion, mentally and morally characteristic of a decadent era, probably did not antedate the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thereafter, however, it became standard, and the text seen on the funerary statuette of Wah-Nefer-hotep was perpetuated on such figures until the end of Egypt's dynastic history. It became a spell (Chapter VI) in the New Kingdom version of the Book of the Dead and is commonly referred to by modern students of Egypt as "the Chapter of the *Shawabty*."

The text appears also on the alabaster ★*shawabty* of the Chamberlain Bener, found near that of Prince Wah-Nefer-hotep and evidently closely contemporary in date. The figure is of the plain mummiform type common in the Twelfth Dynasty, but the small wooden ★coffin in which it lay, wrapped in linen cloth, has the high lid with heavy end boards characteristic of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The appeal to the *shawabty*, written on the front of the figure in four columns of incised hieroglyphs filled with blue pigment, is in this case spoken by the owner, "the Chamberlain of the Palace, Bener, justified," who says, "O thou *shawabty*, if I am reckoned for work which is to be done there (in the afterworld), as a man under obligation," etc. As in the inscription on the *shawabty* of Wah-Nefer-hotep and those on the Theban coffins discussed above, the legs of the signs representing birds and the tails of all serpent-hieroglyphs have been cut off.

The presence in the cemetery at el Lisht of these articles of tombequipment of a prince of the royal house and a high-ranking official of the palace agrees with the information provided by the stela of Hor-em-kha'uf and points to the continued use during the Thirteenth Dynasty of the near-by palace at It-towy as the king's residence.

3. The Fourteenth Dynasty

Throughout the regime of the Thirteenth Dynasty and for many years after its fall the district of Xoïs in the swamplands of the western Delta maintained its independence and was ruled by a long line of local kings or governors known to us, through the Ptolemaic historian Manetho of Sebennytos, as the Fourteenth Dynasty. In the fragments of Manetho's history preserved in Africanus and in one of the versions of Eusebius the dynasty is assigned seventy-six kings and a duration of 184 years. Assuming Xoïs to have seceded from the rest of Egypt with the break-up of the Twelfth Dynasty in 1778 B.C., this would carry the independent government of the redoubtable little state through to 1594 B.C., almost a century after most of the country had fallen prey to Asiatic invaders and less than thirty years before the rise of the New Kingdom. Although almost no monuments of the rulers of the Fourteenth Dynasty are known, many of their names are preserved in the Turin Papyrus in the columns immediately next to those devoted to the Thirteenth Dynasty, and the total number of seventy-two kings given here agrees well with that derived by Manetho from evidently dependable historical sources.

4. The End of the Middle Kingdom

The Semitic names borne by several pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty reflect the existence in northern Egypt of a large Asiatic population. This element, which began to make its presence known as early as the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty, was augmented during the eighteenth century B.C. by the immigration of more and

4. THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

more groups of tribesmen from the lands north and east of Egypt, forced southward by widespread racial movements in western Asia. The leaders of these tribes were called by the Egyptians *Hik-khoswet*, "Princes of the Uplands," or "Rulers of Foreign Countries," from which was probably derived the Manethonian term "Hyksos" now generally applied to the people as a whole.

From the Egyptian monuments found at Byblos, in Syria, it is clear that it was not until after the death of King Kha^c-sekhem-Rē^c Nefer-hotep in 1729 B.C. that the Hyksos began seriously to challenge the political authority of the Thirteenth Dynasty. By 1700 B.C., however, they had emerged as a well-organized, well-equipped, and warlike people and had already seized large portions of Lower Egypt, including the town of Hat-wa^cret, or Avaris, in the northeast Delta, which they refortified for use as their capital. Twenty-five years later, in the reign of King Djed-nefer-Rē^c Dudy-mosē, the Hyksos chieftain Salatis occupied the key city of Memphis, and the Thirteenth Dynasty ceased to exist as the ruling house of an independent nation. After Dudy-mosē the Turin Papyrus lists eighteen more Egyptian kings, but these, including Neḥasy and Neb-fau-Rē^c, were probably no more than puppet rulers, vassals of their Asiatic overlords.

The subjugation of the Thirteenth Dynasty, about 1675 B.C., marked the end of the Middle Kingdom, and thereafter, for more than a century, Egypt suffered the indignity of a foreign occupation. The story of this period, comprising the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Dynasties, is the story of the struggles which ushered in the New Kingdom and of the new and far-reaching influences which determined the character of an era regarded by many as Egypt's greatest.

I. The Hyksos Domination

1. The Hyksos

IN THE CONCLUDING PARAGRAPHS of the first volume of this book¹ we saw how, early in the seventeenth century before the Christian Era, the control of most of Egypt slipped from the feeble grasp of the kings of the late Middle Kingdom and rested for more than a hundred years in the hands of a succession of Asiatic chieftains known to their Egyptian contemporaries as *Hikau-khoswet*, “rulers of foreign countries,” and to the Ptolemaic historian Manetho and his successors as the “Hyksos.” Since both the title *Hik-khoswet* and the other expressions—‘Amu, Setetyu, Mentyu Setet—by which the Egyptians referred to the new ruling element had been used by them for centuries to describe the sheikhs of the Eastern Desert and the tribesmen of southwestern Asia, it would appear that the Hyksos, far from being a novelty on Egypt’s horizon, were the same groups of princes and peoples who from time immemorial had raided her northeastern border and during periods of internal weakness had swarmed into the Delta in formidable numbers.

To judge from their names and their few surviving portraits the intruders appear to have been chiefly Semites; but there is no reason to suppose that they belonged to a single tribe or nation or even to a single racial stock. The view that their ascendancy over the Egyptians was the result of a concerted military invasion from without is no longer generally held. On the other hand, since

it is unlikely that an Asiatic prince could have established himself as their overlord without some resistance on the part of the Egyptians, fighting must have taken place, and to carry off what appears to have been a relatively easy victory the Hyksos must have had the backing of a numerous, well-trained, and well-armed following.

In the course of the fighting it was inevitable that towns should be burned, temples damaged, and the native population subjected to hardships and cruelties. Once the Hyksos were in control they undoubtedly ruled the country with a firm hand, imposing heavy taxes upon the people of the occupied areas and collecting tribute from the vassal kingdoms to the south. Their administration, in which Egyptian officials apparently participated, seems, however, not to have been unduly harsh or oppressive and was probably accepted with complacency by the majority of their subjects. However we may evaluate them they were evidently not the ruthless barbarians conjured up by the Theban propagandists of the early New Kingdom and the Egyptian writers of later periods. The Hyksos kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty sponsored the construction of temple buildings and the production of statues, reliefs, scarabs, and other works of art and craftsmanship; and, curiously enough, some of our best surviving copies of famous Egyptian literary and technical works date from the time of these kings.

On the other hand, with the doubts recently cast by scholars upon the so-called “Hyksos forts,”

[1] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Part I, p. 351.

the "Hyksos pottery," and other products formerly attributed to them, there seems to be little left to support the view that they possessed a distinctive culture of their own. In Egypt they borrowed extensively from the ancient civilization in the midst of which they found themselves. Their rulers wrote their names in Egyptian hieroglyphs, adopted the traditional titles of the kings of Egypt, used throne names compounded in the Egyptian manner, and sometimes even assumed Egyptian personal names. Their admiration for Egyptian art is attested by the number of statues, reliefs, and minor works which they either usurped, or had copied—probably by Egyptian craftsmen—from good Middle Kingdom originals; and their production of that peculiarly Egyptian type of seal, the scarab, was nothing short of prodigious.

The official religion of the Hyksos princes appears to have been modeled upon that of the Egyptians, and their state god, perhaps of Asiatic origin, to have been readily assimilated with Sēth of Avaris, the ancient deity of the northeast Delta town which the Hyksos made their first base of operations in Egypt. Contrary to a later tradition, other Egyptian divinities seem also to have been accepted by the Hyksos, notably the sun god Rē, whom they honored in their throne names.

For the Egyptians, in return, the Hyksos did two things. They rid them once and for all of the old feeling of self-sufficiency and false security, born of a misplaced confidence in Egypt's unassailable superiority over and aloofness from the other nations of the world; and, because they themselves were Asiatics with a kingdom which appears to have embraced northern Sinai and much of Palestine, they brought Egypt into more intimate and continuous contact with the peoples and cultures of western Asia than ever before in her history. Over the Hyksos bridge there flowed into the Nile Valley in unprecedented quantity new blood strains, new religious and philosophical concepts, and new artistic styles and media, as well as epoch-making innovations of a more practical nature—the well sweep, the vertical loom, the composite bow, and, toward the very end of

the Hyksos occupation, the horse and the horse-drawn chariot. Though represented as an unmitigated disaster by native historians of later times, the Hyksos domination provided the Egyptians with both the incentive and the means toward "world" expansion and so laid the foundations and to a great extent determined the character of the New Kingdom, or, as it is often called, "the Empire."

In Egypt we can recognize two principal stages in the Hyksos rise to power, the first of which had its origin in the northeastern Delta around 1720 B.C. This was the time of the Asiatic occupation of the town of Ḥat-w'aret, or Avaris, and the founding there of a temple to the Hyksos counterpart of the god Sēth, an event commemorated on a New Kingdom stela as having taken place four hundred years before the reign of Ḥor-em-ḥēb, the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. For approximately forty-five years (about 1720-1675 B.C.) the first waves of Asiatic princes appear to have consolidated their position and extended their holdings in northern Egypt; but they have left us no monuments, inscribed or otherwise, which can with assurance be assigned to this initial phase of the Hyksos domination.

About 1675 B.C. a Hyksos prince whom Manetho calls Salatis ("the Sultan"?) ousted the contemporary Egyptian ruler from the capital city of Memphis, occupied most of Middle Egypt, and appears to have extended his control southward to include, for the time being at least, the whole of Upper Egypt and Nubia. With Salatis begins the succession of six Hyksos sovereigns—the so-called "Great Hyksos"—who comprised Manetho's Fifteenth Dynasty and whose names were once listed, preceded in each case by the title *Hik-khoswet* and followed by the years of their reigns, in Column X of the Turin Canon of Kings. Their rule, according to this Canon, continued for over a hundred years, or, presumably, until the rise of the New Kingdom in 1567 B.C.

The Manethonian "Salatis" (or "Saïtes"), unattested elsewhere, was, as already indicated, probably a title or epithet applied to an early



FIGURE 1. Royal and official scarabs of the Hyksos period. L. $\frac{9}{16}$ -1 in.

Hyksos ruler of sufficient power and importance to have been recognized by posterity as the founder of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Just such a ruler was King Maʿ-yeḇ-Rēʿ Sheshi, whose seals and seal impressions, of early Hyksos types, are both numerous and widely distributed, examples of the latter having been found as far south as the Middle Kingdom trading post at Kermeh, near the Third Cataract of the Nile. Our own collection includes twenty-seven glazed steatite ★scarabs of this king, on which his names are preceded by the pharaonic titles the “Good God” or the “Son of Rēʿ” and followed by the phrases “given life” or “May he live forever” (see fig. 1, first row). Eleven examples bear the Egyptianizing throne name “Maʿ-yeḇ-Rēʿ” (“Just-is-the-heart-of-Rēʿ”) and

sixteen the personal name “Sheshi”—probably, though not certainly, belonging to the same ruler. The decorative motifs which fill the lateral segments of the oval fields include the interlocking-spiral border, inherited from the Middle Kingdom, appropriately chosen hieroglyphic word signs (𓇋𓇏, the “Good God”; 𓂀, “life,” etc.), and geometric linear patterns of distinctive “Hyksos” types. Though on the whole the carving of these scarabs is of fair quality, the forms of some of the hieroglyphs in their legends are distorted and misunderstood to the point where the signs themselves can scarcely be identified. One of the Maʿ-yeḇ-Rēʿ scarabs is from Elephantine, and one of those with the name Sheshi is from Deir el Baḥrī, where it was found in an Eighteenth Dynasty rubbish pit in front of the temple of Ḥat-shepsūt.² The

[2] Referred to in Part I as Ḥet-shepswet.

others, chiefly from the Davis, Murch, Carnarvon, and Timins collections, are of unknown provenience.

Four very similar ★scarabs from the Amherst, Murch, and Carnarvon collections were inscribed for another early Hyksos ruler whose personal name, Jacob-El, is written in Egyptian “Yʿaḳub-her” and is preceded in each case by the kingly title the “Son of Rē” (see fig. 1, first row). Like those of Maʿ-yeḅ-Rē Sheshi, sealings of Yʿaḳub-her have been found at Kermeh; and, in general, the two kings seem to have been closely associated in time and in the geographic areas which they controlled. Though it is difficult to equate him with the king whom Manetho calls Bnōn, or Beōn, there is some probability that Mer-woser-Rē Yʿaḳub-her was Maʿ-yeḅ-Rē’s immediate successor and, as such, the second of the Great Hyksos rulers.

With King Sewoser-en-Rē Khyan (or Khayana)—the “Staan” or “Iannas” of the Manethonian lists—we are, historically speaking, on firmer ground. He is known to us on monuments from Gebelein in southern Upper Egypt to Bubastis in the Delta and, outside of Egypt, on objects which somehow or other found their way as far as Baghdad in Mesopotamia and Knossos on the island of Crete. Though he was obviously one of the most powerful of the Hyksos princes, Khyan’s name is not found south of Gebelein; and it is probable that in his day the Asiatics had already begun to relax their control over and withdraw their outposts from Nubia and the southernmost provinces of Egypt itself.

Five glazed steatite ★scarabs of this king in the Museum’s collection carry his personal name “Khyan” preceded in four cases by the pharaonic title the “Son of Rē,” and in the other by the title *Hik-khoswet*, “Ruler of Foreign Lands.” The first of the two Khyan scarabs, the undersides of which are shown in figure 1 (top row, right), is set in a gold swivel mounting and once formed the bezel of a signet ring. The decorative motifs which accompany the name are the same as those seen



FIGURE 2. Signet ring and alabaster vase fragment of King Apopy I. H. of fragment $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.

on the scarabs of Sheshi and Yʿaḳub-her—interlocking-spiral borders and hieroglyphic word signs (𓂏𓂐, “repeating life,” etc.). Here too we find the same distorted and misunderstood forms of some of the hieroglyphs in the legends.

The fourth Great Hyksos ruler, with a reign, according to the Turin Canon, of forty years or more (about 1620-1580 B.C.), can only have been King ʿA-woser-Rē Apopy (“Apōphis”), in whose thirty-third regnal year the Rhind mathematical papyrus was copied down by a Theban scribe and whose monuments, like those of Khyan, are known from Gebelein on the south to Bubastis in the north. The Museum is fortunate in possessing two of the more interesting objects on which this king’s name is preserved: a fine human-headed scarab

of glazed steatite mounted in a gold ★finger ring (fig. 2, top) and part of an inscribed alabaster ★vase found at Thebes in the tomb of King Amun-hotpe I of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (fig. 2, bottom). On the scarab Apopy's throne name, "†A-woser-Rē", is preceded by a title probably intended to be the "Good God," but actually written the "Good King." On the vase fragment we find not only the titles and names of the pharaoh: "The Good God, †A-woser-Rē, the Son of Rē, Apop(y)," but also those of the "King's Daughter, Ḥerit," to whom in all probability the vase once belonged. It has been thought that this Hyksos princess may have been married to a contemporary ruler of Thebes and may even have been an ancestress of King Amun-hotpe I. However that may be, the presence of her vase, with its inscription intact, in a Theban royal tomb certainly bears out the evidence of the title page of the Rhind Papyrus and indicates clearly that during most of the long reign of Apopy I the Hyksos and Thebans were on good terms with one another and that the memory of the Asiatic rulers was not as hateful to the Egyptians of the early New Kingdom as some of our sources would have us believe. Apopy I is also represented in our collection by an unglazed steatite ★scarab and a white-glazed steatite ★cowroid (fig. 1, second row), each bearing his throne name incorrectly written and accompanied in one instance by a figure of the Egyptian cobra goddess Udōt and in the other by the falcon of Horus surmounting the *wedjat*-eye (see Part I, p. 313).

Toward the end of Apopy's reign the Egyptians, spearheaded, as frequently in their history, by the proud and warlike princes of Thebes, began to stand up against their Asiatic overlords. Echoes of the opening of hostilities are preserved to us in a New Kingdom legend describing a verbal quarrel, or duel of wits, which took place between "King Apopy" of Avaris and "King Seken-en-Rē" of Thebes. Actual fighting seems to have broken out shortly thereafter; and the serious reverses suffered by the "wretched Asiatic," "†A-




woser-Rē, Son of Rē, Apopy," at the hands of the embattled Thebans are described on two great stelae set up in the temple of Amūn at Karnak by King Ka-mose, the last ruler of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

Sometime during the reign of Apopy I the Hyksos had withdrawn their southern boundary to Kusae, north of Asyūt; and before his death they had been routed out of most of Middle Egypt and driven back almost as far as the Fayyūm. An attempt on the part of Apopy to induce the "Prince of Kush" to come to his assistance was thwarted by the Thebans who intercepted his messenger as he was traveling southward to Nubia through the Libyan Desert. With the exception of a dagger purchased in Luxor, monuments of †A-woser-Rē's successor, †A-ken-en-Rē Apopy II, have not been found south of Bubastis in the eastern Delta; and †A-seḥ-Rē (Khamudy?), probably the last pharaoh of the Fifteenth Dynasty, is known only from a small obelisk discovered on or near the site of Avaris itself. The fall of Avaris and the expulsion of the Asiatics from the soil of Egypt took place about 1567 B.C., and a few years later King Aḥ-mose, the Theban founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, wiped out the remaining vestiges of Hyksos power in southern Palestine.

Contemporary with the Great Hyksos of the Fifteenth Dynasty there appears to have been at least one other group of Hyksos rulers in Egypt, in whom we may probably recognize the "other Shepherd Kings" identified by Africanus in his epitome of Manetho's history as the Sixteenth Dynasty. Near the beginning of this group are to be placed such chieftains as †Anat-her, Semken, Wadjed, and Seket. Later in the series of minor Hyksos rulers belong "Kings" Kha†-woser-Rē, †A-ḥetep-Rē, Sekha†-en-Rē, and †A-mu, whose names, preceded in most cases by the title the "Good God" and followed by the words "given life," appear on ten glazed steatite ★scarabs in the Museum's collection (see fig. 1, second row). Of King Neb-khopesh-Rē Apopy (III?), who is probably to be placed near the end of the Six-

teenth Dynasty, we possess no inscribed monuments.

Associated stylistically and geographically with the scarabs of King Ma^c-yeb-Rē^c Sheshi, the founder(?) of the Fifteenth Dynasty, are those of an important Hyksos official, whose Semitic name Ḥur (as in the familiar "Ben Ḥur") means "the noble," "the freeborn." On the ★scarabs, of which the Museum possesses eight examples in green-glazed steatite, the name is actually written "Ḥar" and is accompanied by the titles "Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt," "Sole Companion (of the King)," and "Overseer of the Treasury" (see fig. 1, third row). The scarabs of this man—charged, no doubt, with the receipt of taxes and tribute for King Sheshi or for an approximately contemporary Hyksos pharaoh—have been found on many different ancient sites, all the way from the region of Gaza in Palestine to that of Kermeh in the Sūdān. Another Hyksos Treasurer, whose titles are the same as those of Ḥur and whose scarabs are almost as numerous, bore the Egyptian name Pery-em-waḥ and may have been an Egyptian in the employ of the Asiatic rulers. His six ★scarabs in our collection are somewhat crudely carved of steatite and are coated with a bluish green glaze. The title and name of a Queen Te-ty, known elsewhere from two scarabs in the British Museum and thought by some to have been a consort of one of the Hyksos rulers, appear on a large glazed steatite ★scarab of this period (fig. 1, third row), formerly in the Theodore M. Davis collection.

Many seals of the Hyksos period bear pseudo names of kingly type, sometimes enclosed within cartouches and preceded by royal titles. Such a name, to be read perhaps "Rē^c-ʿa-em-neṯer," appears on a ★button seal of glazed steatite shown in the third row of figure 1. To the right of this seal are two scarabs with legends of the so-called *ṯnr*-type, imitation names made up of various combinations of the signs , , and . In addition to the examples illustrated the Museum possesses thirty-five ★scarabs and two ★cylinder seals with inscriptions of this type.

2. The Thebans

Forced southward by the expansion of the Hyksos rule, King Dudy-mošē and his successors of the late Thirteenth Dynasty had managed to maintain for several decades small Upper Egyptian "kingdoms" centered around towns like Asyūt, Abydos, and Thebes. About 1660 B.C. the Theban branch of the Thirteenth Dynasty was replaced by a new and more vigorous line of Theban rulers in whom we may recognize without much doubt the "kings of Thebes or Diospolis" of Manetho's Seventeenth Dynasty. The names and years of these rulers are partially preserved in Column XI of the Turin Canon of Kings; and a number of them are listed in the Karnak table of ancestors of Ṯut-mošē III and on other Theban monuments of the New Kingdom. Their tombs at Thebes—small brick pyramids built along the southeastern slope of the Dirā^c Abu'n Naga—are known to us chiefly from coffins and other items of funerary furniture which they had once contained, from references to them in the tomb-robbery papyri of the Twentieth Dynasty and other New Kingdom documents, and from the accounts of nineteenth-century explorers and travelers.

The compiler of the Turin Canon appears to have divided the Manethonian Seventeenth Dynasty into two groups, the first group embracing Sekhem-Rē^c Waḥ-kha^cu Rē^c-ḥotpe (Column X, 30?) and his ten successors down to and including Sekhem-Rē^c Shed-Wast (Column XI, 9); the second group having been made up apparently of the last five kings of the dynasty, from Nūb-kheper-Rē^c In-yōtef VII to Wadj-kheper-Rē^c Ka-mošē (Column XI, 10-15?).

The territory claimed by these rulers probably coincided approximately with that ruled centuries before by the Theban princes of the Herakleopolitan period and embraced perhaps the eight southernmost nomes of Egypt from the Nubian frontier to the neighborhood of Abydos. Building operations and repairs were carried out at Abydos itself by King Re^c-ḥotpe, the founder of the Dynasty,

and by several of his successors; but the wording of a well-known decree of King In-yōtef VII at Koptos suggests that there were other ruling houses in Upper Egypt contemporary with the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty, while Middle and northern Egypt were, of course, in the hands of the Hyksos.

None of the kings of the earlier group of Thebans seems to have been of a particularly warlike nature or to have entertained any very great antagonism toward his Asiatic overlords and neighbors to the north—perhaps because none of them had as yet the means to back up sentiments of a rebellious nature. The most fully documented of the group, King Sekhem-Rē In-shed-towy Sobk-em-saf II, enjoyed a relatively long reign of sixteen years and, thanks probably to his building activities at Karnak and Abydos, was still remembered in the late New Kingdom as “a great ruler” whose “monuments stand to this very day.”³ One of the few monuments known from this period is a stela set up at Karnak in the reign of King Neb-iry-er-awet I, recording an inquiry into the sale to a private individual of the hereditary governorship of the province of el Kāb; it constitutes one of the most interesting juridical documents which have survived from Egyptian antiquity. Incidentally, it fixes the reign of Neb-iry-er-awet as being less than three generations removed from that of King Merhetep-Rē Iny of the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

With the kings of the second group the picture changes. In a relief at Koptos King Nūb-kheper-Rē In-yōtef is shown with upraised mace striking down a cluster of his enemies, and at Karnak his cartouches surmount figures of bound Nubian and Asiatic captives. The pharaoh himself was buried with his bows and arrows beside him in his coffin, and his son Nakhte bore the high military rank of a Troop Commander of the army. Though the “enemies” referred to in the king’s Koptite decree are now recognized as having been not real enemies, but small magical figures which had been stolen by one Tety, son of Min-hotpe, the tone of

the decree is both autocratic and violent. We have seen how one of the two kings named Seken-en-Rē Ta’o battled verbally, if not actually, against King Apopy, his Hyksos adversary; and from the axe, club, and dagger wounds which appear on his mummy it is clear that King Ta’o II, “the Brave,” met a violent end, quite possibly in combat against the invaders of his country.

It is not, however, until we come to the last ruler of the Seventeenth Dynasty, King Wadj-kheper-Rē Ka-mosē, son of King Ta’o II, that a long historical text, known to us from two big stelae found at Karnak and from a slightly later student’s copy of one of these, throws definite light on the progress made by the embattled Thebans in their war of liberation against the Hyksos. At the beginning of this text we are told how, despite the cautious advice of his council, Ka-mosē set his heart on “delivering Egypt and smiting the Asiatics” and how, with the aid of his Kushite auxiliaries, the famed Medjay troops, he captured an enemy stronghold at Neferūsy, deep in Hyksos-held territory, and chased the enemy’s “horses” into the fortress at Per-shak, presumably still further to the north. Here, almost at the end of the Hyksos occupation, we find our first reference in an Egyptian text to the horse, an animal which may not have been used by the Asiatics in their conquest of Egypt but which was destined in the centuries to come to play a leading role in the establishment of Egypt’s Asiatic empire.

The text as preserved on the second stela goes on to tell us how Ka-mosē captured a fleet of Hyksos ships, laden with “all good products of Retenu” (Palestine-Syria), how he carried his conquests into the Kynopolite Nome, only fifty miles south of the entrance to the Fayyūm, and how, “to prevent the rebel from being behind me,” he sent a unit of his army to occupy the strategically important oasis of Baharia in the Libyan Desert to the west. The taking of Avaris and the expulsion of the intruders from the soil of Egypt was not, however, accomplished by Ka-mosē himself, but by his younger brother and successor King Neb-pehty-Rē Aḥ-mosē, the founder of the New Kingdom.

[3] The Abbott Papyrus, 6, 3-4. See Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, p. 138.

As the liberators of Egypt and the forerunners of the New Kingdom the rulers of the late Seventeenth Dynasty were held in high honor by their successors of happier and more prosperous times, especially by their immediate descendants of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. It is a striking testimonial to the growing importance of Egypt's royal women that equal or even greater honors were extended to the wives and mothers of these rulers—the ancestresses of the Theban line—whose names and figures appear as frequently on monuments of the New Kingdom as do those of the kings themselves. Among the ladies particularly revered by subsequent generations were Queen Sobk-em-saf of Edfu, the wife of Nūb-kheper-Rē In-yōtef; Queen Tety-shery ("Little Tety"), wife of King Ta'ō I, mother of King Ta'ō II, and grandmother of the royal brothers Ka-mosē and Aḥ-mosē I; and Queen Aḥ-hotpe, the wife of Seḫen-en-Rē Ta'ō II and the mother of his two great successors. Both Tety-shery and Aḥ-hotpe lived on into the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty and were buried by Aḥ-mosē I in richly endowed tombs.

Like those of their Hyksos adversaries the names of the kings, queens, and princes of the Seventeenth Dynasty are found in the Museum's collection chiefly on ★scarabs (fig. 1, fourth row). With the Carnarvon collection we acquired a large and

rather handsome scarab in blue-glazed steatite inscribed for the "Good God In-yōtef, the Elder," probably Sekhem-Rē Wep-ma'et In-yōtef V, the second king of the dynasty; and an altogether similar scarab bearing upon its underside, likewise within an interlocking-spiral border, the title and name of a "King's Son In-yōtef." In the same collection there are also a blue faience scarab of the "King's Wife Aḥ-hotpe," apparently the queen of Seḫen-en-Rē Ta'ō II, and a somewhat smaller example in green-glazed steatite with the



FIGURE 3. Fragmentary limestone stela and shrine with the names of King Sobk-em-saf II. L. of shrine 11 in.



personal name of King (?) "Ka-mosē." From the Museum's excavations near the pyramid of Amun-em-hēt I at el Lisht come another scarab of Prince In-yōtef and two in faience of King "Sewadj-en-Rē" (Neb-iry-er-awet I); and from the Altman collection a scarab resembling these last two, but with the throne name of Nūb-kheper-Rē In-yōtef VII. A glazed steatite ★bead bearing the title and name of Queen Aḥ-hotpe enclosed within a cartouche was acquired with the Murch collection.

Through a gift of Norman de Garis Davies the long and relatively prosperous reign of Sobk-em-saf II is represented in our collection by parts of two small but interesting monuments from western Thebes, picked up many years ago on the Dirā Abu'n Naga, probably not far from the site of the king's pyramid. One was a limestone tomb ★stela inscribed with the autobiography of an official of the "Son of Rē, Sobk-em-saf," whose cartouche by great good fortune is preserved on our fragment (fig. 3, top). The other was a small ★shrine, also of limestone, on the back of which (fig. 3, center), below a crudely carved winged sun's disk (labeled "the Behdetite"), the "Good God, Lord of the Two Lands. . . Sekhem-Rē Shed-towy Sobk-em-saf, given life," was once shown making offering to "Amun Rē, Lord of [Kar]nak. . . ." The sides of the battered little monument (fig. 3, bottom) still carry parts of offering formulae in which Ptaḥ, Ḥor-akhty, and "all the gods of heaven" are invoked "in behalf of the spirit" of the shrine's deceased owner, whose figure probably confronted that of the god Ptaḥ on the right-hand side of the block. The accuracy of Lindsley Hall's pen permits us to see even in the line drawings of figure 3 the coarse, provincial style which characterizes nearly all the products of the Theban ateliers of this period.

The Museum possesses no monuments of Queen Tety-shery which were made during her lifetime; but her name, enclosed within a cartouche, appears on a limestone ★stela of the Eighteenth Dynasty belonging to a man named Thūty (see p. 170), one of whose relatives was a priest of the temple of "Aḥ-mosē, daughter of Tety-shery, the

justified." If, as seems possible, the Aḥ-mosē referred to here was Queen Aḥ-mosē Nefret-iry, the wife of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, then we must understand the word daughter to mean, as it sometimes does, female descendant or, in this case, granddaughter.

3. The Arts and Crafts of Northern Egypt under the Hyksos

It is probable that in the northern and central portions of the country Egyptian architects, artists, and craftsmen, trained in the Middle Kingdom tradition, continued working throughout the period of the Asiatic occupation under the appreciative patronage of the Hyksos rulers and their followers. Aside, however, from several minor objects such as a scribe's palette with the names of King Apopy I and a dagger handle with the cartouches of Neb-khopesh-Rē Apopy (III?), very few original works have survived in Lower and Middle Egypt which can with assurance be dated to this period. Monumental sculpture is represented almost entirely by reinscribed royal statues and sphinxes of Middle Kingdom origin; and of the temples built by the Hyksos kings there remain only a few blocks of inscription from Bubastis, a small obelisk of King 'A-seḥ-Rē from Tanis, and a fine granite altar which Apopy II dedicated to "his father, Sēth, Lord of Avaris." Though what has come down to us is quantitatively unimpressive, the quality of the work is on the whole as good or better than that produced under the independent Egyptian kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

For objects of this period from northern Egypt our collection has depended chiefly on the Museum's own excavations at el Lisht, especially those conducted between the years 1906 and 1922 in the area surrounding the pyramid of King Amun-em-hēt I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. The extensive cemetery of private pit tombs which fans out to the west and south of the pyramid enclosure appears to have continued in use until the end of the Middle Kingdom, when the site was abandoned to the mercies of the local peasantry, who used it both as a source of loot and as a quarry for

ready-cut blocks of building stone. To these plunderers and their families we probably owe the founding of a settlement of small mud-brick houses and granaries clustered haphazardly around the pyramid and climbing part way up its sloping sides. This settlement, which grew at length into a considerable village, seems to have continued in uninterrupted occupancy for seven or eight hundred years, the latest datable objects found in it belonging to the time of the Twenty-Second Dynasty (950-730 B.C.). Unfortunately, the bulk of the material from the ruins of the village—chiefly utilitarian items of household equipment—cannot be dated with any exactitude. The same is true of many of the objects found in the adjoining cemetery, for these too may have been of village origin, swept into the open tomb shafts during the repeated disturbances to which the site has been subjected.

There are, however, a few groups of objects from the site of the North Pyramid at el Lisht which not only can be assigned to the time of the Hyksos occupation of northern Egypt, but which may be said to be typical of this period.

Three of the tomb pits in the North Pyramid cemetery yielded, between them, seven small pyriform *★*jugs in black pottery adorned with incised and white-filled decoration in which predominate chevrons and other geometric designs made up of or filled with rows of dots. These jugs, most of which are fragmentary, belong to a well-known type of Syro-Palestinian pottery which has been found in quantity at Tell el Yahudiyeh in the southeast Delta, some fifty miles to the north of el Lisht, and is now generally known as "Tell el Yahudiyeh ware." Though it is doubtful that this pottery was a Hyksos product, most of the examples recovered are datable to the period when the Hyksos were a power in the Near East. Its presence at el Lisht, as on other north Egyptian sites, reflects the lively trade relations which existed at this time between northern Egypt and southwestern Asia.

Fragments of five of the Tell el Yahudiyeh jugs were found together in a single tomb shaft and with them was found what Helene J. Kantor has

described as "perhaps the most remarkable of the foreign vessels assignable to the Second Intermediate period . . . a *★*vase unique in Egypt but belonging to a typical Palestinian and Syrian type known at the end of the Middle Bronze IIA period, but common in Middle Bronze IIB" (fig. 4). Miss Kantor goes on to say: "This vase is not merely a normal import from Palestine, however, but is outstanding for its decoration—decoration utterly unparalleled in both Egypt and Palestine. The designs are executed in a red wash, with borders and interior details incised and filled with white pigment. Though the ungainly geese seem unparalleled, the dolphins are somewhat clumsy imitations of Middle Minoan IIB dolphins, motifs borrowed from wall paintings by the Minoan pot painters. In technique the Lisht dolphins have affinities both with their white-outlined Minoan prototypes and with the incised, white-filled decoration of Tell el Yahudiyah juglets. The synchronism between the Second Intermediate period in Egypt, Middle Minoan III in Crete, and Middle Bronze IIB in Palestine is, of course, already well established by other finds in Egypt and elsewhere, but the dolphins of the Lisht jar are the first Middle Minoan III feature to be discovered in Egypt. Thus they form a most welcome counterbalance to the evidence for Egyptian, and also Syrian, influence on the development of the representational art of Middle Minoan III. The Lisht find provides what might hardly have been expected, the epitomization on a single vase of the intimacy of connections between Egypt, Syria-Palestine, and Crete in the final phase of the Middle Bronze period."⁴

From another tomb shaft near the pyramid of Amun-em-hēt I come two small black pottery *★*vases, one cordiform with incised palm-tree decoration, the other shaped like a bird with the outlines of the feathers and other details incised. Undecorated pottery *★*jars and *★*bowls of late Second Intermediate types were found in both the cemetery and the village area.

Thirty-two crude little faience *★*amulets from

[4] "Chronology of Egypt," pp. 13-14.



the same site and apparently of the same period include fourteen in the form of the hippopotamus goddess Ta-weret (Thoueris), five in the shape of a recumbent lion, four flies, two birds, an ape, two scarab beetles, a human hand, a rather amorphous star, and two almost unrecognizable *wedjat*-eyes. Five ★bullae, or bottle-shaped amulets, are carved of carnelian, as are also three pear-shaped ★pendants. One of two agate ★pendants is shaped like a tooth, while the other is simply an oval pebble with a hole bored through its middle. There are, in addition, an agate ★cowroid, acacia-pod ★beads of beryl and of steatite, a glazed steatite oval ★bead with engraved scroll decoration, and long strings of faience spheroid ★beads and disk-shaped ★beads of shell. Rectangular and circular pieces of carnelian ★inlay have been somewhat vaguely dated to the period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties.

Eight tombs in the North Pyramid cemetery produced a dozen large sections of papyrus and Halfa-grass ★mats and four lengths of grass and palm-fiber ★rope, both two- and three-ply. These, also, were dated by the Museum's excavators to the interval between the Middle and New Kingdoms. A bronze ★hairpin, some five and a half inches in length, found in the ruins of the ancient

FIGURE 4. Decorated pottery jar of foreign type from el Lisht. H. 5 ½ in.

village, has been given the date "XIII-XVII Dynasty."⁵

It is tempting to assign to the time of the Hyksos occupation the lower part of a large limestone ★*shawabty*-figure (see Part I, pp. 326, 350) of late Middle Kingdom type inscribed for a man named "Apopy." The name, however, is common during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties and the figure may well antedate by many years the similarly named Hyksos rulers. On the other hand, a small rectangular model ★coffin of Nile mud is so similar to examples found in tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes (see fig. 15) that there is every probability that it is of Second Intermediate period date. The little box and its flat lid are painted red and were once covered with a piece of linen cloth. Within there is a small and rather amorphous mud figure with eyes made of beads, wrapped in a red cloth and covered over with a piece of heavier cloth, also stained red.

The area surrounding the South Pyramid at el

[5] This, like other dates given in the same form throughout the volume, is taken from the Museum's accession card.

Lisht, that of King Se'n-Wosret I, has added nothing to the Museum's collection which can with any confidence be attributed to Hyksos times, with the possible exception of four much worn masons' ★mallets found in the débris outside the western limestone enclosure wall of the pyramid. These mallets, of the usual pear-shaped type carved in one piece from a hardwood log, are apparently post-Twelfth Dynasty and may have been used during the ensuing period in quarrying operations in the abandoned royal funerary complex.

It is difficult to draw any general conclusions on the arts and crafts of northern Egypt during the Hyksos regime on the basis of the few, relatively insignificant, and in some cases uncertainly dated objects just discussed. We may note, however, the prevalence of foreign pottery probably imported from Palestine-Syria and showing in one instance motifs borrowed from the contemporary art of Minoan Crete; and, so far as the native Egyptian objects are concerned, observe the not always successful efforts to perpetuate the stylistic traditions and technical processes of the Middle Kingdom.

4. The Arts and Crafts of Upper Egypt during the Hyksos Period

In Upper Egypt the artistic and cultural picture is even less cheerful than in the North. In the Thebaid and adjoining areas the Hyksos subjugation of the northern two-thirds of the country had, for the time being, a disastrous effect on the local arts and crafts, accelerating the decline already apparent under the ephemeral pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty and reducing the quality of Egyptian artistic production in these areas to—without much doubt—its lowest level in dynastic history. Not only, as in the disturbed years following the collapse of the Old Kingdom, did the native artists and artisans lose their technical ability and their sense of style, but, in the shadow of a foreign overlordship, they also lost the spirit and ingenuity which had made the art of the First Intermediate period, in spite of its crudity and

provincialism, both lively and interesting. At Thebes itself the artisans attached to the poverty-stricken court of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty found themselves deprived of the training and patronage enjoyed by their colleagues of more fortunate periods and, at the same time, cut off by the Hyksos and the princes of Kush from nearly all the materials normally employed by the ancient Egyptians in the production of fine works of art and craftsmanship—the gold of Nubia, the ebony and ivory of the Sūdān, the copper and turquoise of Sinai, the coniferous woods of Syria, the white limestone of Tureh, and the fine alabaster of Ḥat-nūb. For their tomb monuments even the kings had to content themselves with small pyramidal superstructures built of mud brick, and for their coffins with rough anthropoid containers carved out of the knotty, coarse-grained logs of the local sycamore-fig tree. No monumental sculpture in the round appears to have been attempted, and building operations seem to have been confined largely to the upkeep and repair of existing structures. Occasionally, however, fine small objects were turned out by the Upper Egyptian ateliers; and when, under the last kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty, the Theban rulers began to regain control of their country, we note a very marked upswing in the quality of the works produced, an upswing which carried over with uninterrupted momentum into the early years of the New Kingdom. It is, in fact, often impossible to say whether certain coffins, weapons, musical instruments, pieces of jewelry, and the like produced at the end of the Hyksos period belong to the late Seventeenth or to the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

In contrast to northern Egypt, Thebes and other Upper Egyptian sites have furnished the Museum's collection with a substantial corpus of objects datable to and characteristic of the period when the Hyksos ruled in the North and the Seventeenth Dynasty in the South. Our Theban material, which includes several complete burials, comes chiefly from excavations conducted by the Earl of Carnarvon and by our own Egyptian Expedition in cemeteries of the Second Intermediate



period and early New Kingdom at the eastern end of the Ṭasāsīf valley and along the lower slopes of the Dirāʿ Abu'n Naga (see Part 1, p. 202).

It will make for clarity if we study this material more or less according to the subject grouping adopted for our Middle Kingdom objects in Chapters XII to XV of the first volume of this book, taking up in order the people as they appear to us in their sculpture and painting, and then their personal possessions and pastimes, the furnishings of their houses, their weapons and implements, and finally their burials and funerary

FIGURE 5. Painted limestone triad from Thebes. H. $6\frac{1}{16}$ in.

equipment including their coffins, canopic chests, and *shawabty*-figures.

A painted limestone ★triad (fig. 5), less than six and a half inches in height, introduces us to three members of a Theban family of the late Seventeenth Dynasty. Offering formulae written in black ink on the back and sides of the back pilaster and invoking in each case the god Osiris tell us that the woman at the center of the group

bore the very common name Aḥ-mose, but leave us in some doubt as to the names of her companions—perhaps “Sen(i)” and “Wadjet”—and in complete doubt as to their relationship to her. A mother with her son and daughter seems the most plausible guess, but the possibilities, of course, are manifold. The man is conventionally attired in a small, caplike wig and a short, goffered kilt with pendent tab in front. The long, full head-dresses of the women are represented as bound over the top and around the sides with broad, ribbonlike bands. Interesting is the painstaking, if not completely successful, treatment of the clasped hands. The flesh of the man is painted the customary dark red, that of the women an ochre yellow (see Part I, p. 107). With the photograph before us it is unnecessary to harp upon the overly squat proportions and the other technical shortcomings of the little group; but its close adherence (or attempted adherence) to the typological and stylistic traditions of the Middle Kingdom is worth noting, especially since it is probably to be dated just before, or possibly just after, the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It was found in 1916 by the Museum's Expedition in a tomb court three-quarters of a mile east of the temples at Deir el Bahri.

A pit in this courtyard gave access to several subterranean tomb chambers, and in the débris on the floor of one of these chambers was found a rather badly damaged wooden ★statuette of a standing man wearing a short wig and kilt almost exactly like those of the man of the limestone triad. The figure in this case, however, is tall, slenderly proportioned, and in general more characteristic of the work of the New than of the Middle Kingdom. The man's right hand, provided with a very long, down-projecting thumb, hangs straight down at his side and at one time evidently held a scepter in horizontal position, while the bent left arm probably reached toward a staff. The statuette, seven and five-eighths inches in height, had been attached by tenons on the undersides of the feet to a wooden base, but this had been almost entirely devoured by white ants. As frequently, the forward half of each foot was

carved as a separate piece and tenoned in position.

From a tomb of the “XIIIth-XVIIth Dynasties”⁶ at Abydos cleared in 1901 by the Egypt Exploration Fund comes a pair of unusual little female ★statuettes in limestone, one preserved to the height of the breasts (three and five-eighths inches), the other to a point a trifle above the knees. Each figure, clad in a long, tight-fitting dress which reveals the form beneath it, stands upright against a square pilaster in the center of a broad, flat base. Since on the more complete figure there is no sign of the arms it is clear that these were raised above breast level, perhaps in a gesture of protection or adoration. Without the arms, the heads, or an inscription to guide us, it is difficult to know whether we have here representations of women (the tomb owner or her servants) or of goddesses. The facts, however, that the statuettes are a pair and that their arms were raised make it not improbable that they represent the sister goddesses Isis and Nephthys, who figure so prominently in the funerary rituals and tomb art of the ancient Egyptians (see Part I, pp. 318, 347; figs. 207, 228).

By Hyksos times the so-called “doll” or “dancing-girl” statuettes of the Middle Kingdom (see Part I, p. 219) had been reduced to a single type—the elongated female figure grotesquely modeled in clay, usually exaggeratedly nude, but nearly always provided with an elaborate coiffure and jewelry. Various described in the past as “concubines,” as “fertility goddesses,” and as “characterizing . . . the universal concern with generation,” it is probable that the principal purpose of such figures was to stimulate and perpetuate the procreative powers of the deceased Egyptians with whom they were buried.⁷ An elaborate example in the Museum's collection comes from a typical Seventeenth Dynasty burial in western Thebes, that of a man named Pu-Hor-Senbu. It comprises

[6] Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pp. 100 f.

[7] For full discussions see the works of Bruyère and Desroches-Noblecourt, *Bibliography*, § 22.

the terra-cotta ★figures of a woman and her child found swathed together in linen bandages (see fig. 6) and placed beside the head of the deceased. The child, held in front of the mother and exhibiting the same hideous crudity in the rendering of the face and body, is also a female. Like the “paddle dolls” of the Eleventh Dynasty (Part I, pp. 219-21) the woman wears a coiffure of Nubian type, in this case a great disk-shaped mass of clay “curls” with pellets of clay suspended on strings from the top of the head, and, looped twice around her neck, a heavy necklace of primitive appearance. Her figure, which tapers downward to a point, with the merest suggestion of the feet at the lower end of the legs, measures seven and three-

quarters inches in height; that of the child, slightly over four inches. Three similar ★“dolls” (see fig. 6), of which one is certainly and the other two probably from Thebes, are somewhat smaller and are not accompanied by figures of children. One has its hair dressed in two widely flaring lateral sections which are bound together, above the narrow, wedge-shaped face, by a fillet. The second is without its head, but exhibits on the stomach and abdomen pricked dot patterns which probably represent tattooing. The third figure has a pointed, birdlike face, a wide headdress, flat on top and

FIGURE 6. Crude female figures from Thebes and Koptos. Terra cotta. H. of largest figure $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.



with loops descending on either side of the head, and across the abdomen a row of dots which may in this case indicate the presence of a bead girdle. All wear heavy necklaces. To our more or less complete figures are to be added two terra-cotta ★heads acquired by Albert M. Lythgoe, the Egyptian Department's first curator, at Kūft (the ancient Koptos), some twenty-five miles to the north of Thebes. One head wears the divided, flaring coiffure surmounted by a fillet and a small cone; the other shows a disk-shaped headdress and has the lobes of the ears pierced for earrings. It is worth noting that the barbaric crudity exhibited by these figures is a characteristic of the class of object to which they belong, not primarily of the period in which they were made, since altogether similar figures, indistinguishable from our Seventeenth Dynasty specimens, were produced during both the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties. Nor were these grotesque doll-like statuettes of nude women with elaborate headdresses local to Egypt only: they are found in quantity in other parts of the Near East, notably in Persia, in Syria, and on the island of Cyprus.

The rough form, childish draughtsmanship, and limited colors of the painted limestone ★stela of figure 7, on the other hand, do fairly exemplify the work of the provincial artisans of Upper Egypt during the period of the Hyksos domination in the North. Stylistically, perhaps, the greatest interest of the rather lifeless little painting lies in the very slender proportions of the figures, one of the several characteristics which, as we shall see, differentiate the art of the New Kingdom from that of the preceding great eras of Egyptian history. Coming in all probability from a plundered burial of the Seventeenth Dynasty, the stela was found during the winter of 1918-1919 in the surface rubbish to the east of the tomb of the Chief Steward Pe-Bēs, a Theban official of the Saïte period. On it we see a man named Tetu, son of Okeret, seated at the right with "his beloved wife, Nefer-tjetet, born of Bet," and confronted by his two sons, Amūny and Si-Amūn, and his seven daughters, Sit-Amūn, Dedyet-Amūn, Iket-Amūn, Okeret (I),

Bet, Okeret (II), and Yaḥ. The cursive hieroglyphic labels, including that over Tetu's pile of food and drink offerings ("a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of beef and fowl"), are written in black; and the figures, offerings, and accessories, including the mirror and casket under the couple's elaborately grained chair, are painted in red, yellow, black, and white.

Almost equally crude is a small, round-topped ★stela of limestone on which the spindly, angular figures of a man named Mery-en-Ptaḥ and a woman named Ina are silhouetted in low, flat-surfaced relief, with the details of their forms and clothing scratched in or added in paint. The man, clad in a long, diaphanous over-kilt, sits behind a table of offerings, smelling a lotus flower, while the woman stands facing him, holding in her extended right hand the branch of a shrub or small tree. Above, in the lunette of the stela, is a pair of large *wedjat*-eyes flanking a *shenu*-symbol; and below, a brief and unevenly written *hṯp-dī-nsw* formula calling upon Osiris, Lord of Busiris, to provide Mery-en-Ptaḥ with the customary funerary offerings. The front of the stela is framed by a low, flat band raised slightly in relief above the enclosed surface. Though the name Mery-en-Ptaḥ is not common until well along in the New Kingdom, the style and iconography of the little monument point clearly to a date in the Second Intermediate period. A gift of Darius Ogden Mills, the stela came to the Museum in 1904 without indication of its original provenience.

A fragmentary limestone ★stela of the very late Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty, on which are preserved portions of two registers of figures executed in shallow *relief en creux*, or sunk relief, shows a return on the part of the Upper Egyptian draughtsman and sculptor to the uniformity of proportions, technical sophistication, and sense of established style which we associate with the "classic" periods of Egyptian art. The figures, sharp-faced and slenderly proportioned, include, in the upper register, the lower portions of two men and a woman seated on chairs side by side and, standing facing them, a man wearing a



short under-kilt and a long, transparent overskirt. In the lower register we see, according to the accompanying hieroglyphic labels, the "King's Son Aḥ-mose" and another man, named Thūty, each presenting a duck as an offering, and behind them three women, Aḥ-hotpe, Aḥ-mose, and "Sit- . . .", offering, respectively, a conical loaf of "white bread," a *hes*-vase (𓆎) of "beer," and a small jar of "wine." It should be noted that at this period the title King's Son did not necessarily indicate royal birth, but was borne by many quite ordinary citizens of Egypt, such as the offering bearer Aḥ-mose of our present fragment. The piece, presented to the Museum in 1890 by James Douglas, is probably, though not certainly, from Thebes. It measures nine and a half by nine inches.

Of articles of clothing which had belonged to people of the Hyksos period we possess nothing except two large fragments of an openwork leather *loincloth cut in one piece from a gazelle skin. The openwork pattern consists of horizontal rows of small, closely spaced, rectangular slots, and the effect is that of a fine lattice rather than of an open net as is the case with the cutwork leather loincloths of the New Kingdom. An exactly similar

FIGURE 7. Painted limestone stela of Tetu and his family. L. 16 1/8 in.

garment was found at Balabish (near Abydos) in the burial of one of a group of Sudanese soldiers, the so-called "pan-grave people" (see pp. 39 ff.), and it is not unlikely that this type of loincloth was a military or semimilitary garment of Sudanese or Nubian origin. Our two sections of loincloth belonged to a man whose only other worldly possession was a boomerang and who was buried, in a typical Seventeenth Dynasty *rishi* coffin (see pp. 29f.), in the lower Asāsif valley in western Thebes.

Altogether similar burials in the same locality produced many interesting, though rarely fine, pieces of personal jewelry—*scarabs, *cowroids, *plaques, *amulets, bead *necklaces and *girdles, and metal *earrings. On the body of a man named Pu-Ḥor-Senbu (the owner of the mother-and-child "doll" figures discussed above) were found a glazed steatite scarab with a decorative design on its underside, tied by a cord to a finger of the left hand, and a matching cowroid of the same material and with a similar design, attached with a loop of cord to the left wrist. On the right

hand was a roughly shaped scarab of haematite, and around the neck two long cords, one supporting three alabaster amulets (a falcon and two "hearts") with a big cylindrical bead at the back serving as a counterpoise, the other having eight kidney-shaped ★seeds tied to it at intervals. Around the waist of the same mummy there was a girdle of small shell and carnelian disk beads and, scattered in the wrappings, a long cylindrical bead of blue faience and a quantity of loose disk beads. An adjacent burial yielded a small rush basket containing, among other items, three scarabs with "heraldic" devices (a falcon, a clump of papyrus, etc.), a *wedjat*-eye plaque with the name of the god Amūn inscribed on the back, and a little plaque in the form of a cartouche bearing apparently the legend "Sobk-Rē", Lord of Shedet"—all of blue faience, except for one scarab of glazed steatite, and all strung together on a loop of thread. Outside the basket but in the same coffin was found a green-glazed steatite scarab inscribed for the "Accountant(?) of the God's Offering Amun-hotpe." The only object from a third burial of the same group was a faience scarab with a decorative pattern on the base.

A series of burials in the reused Middle Kingdom tomb court referred to above has furnished eleven scarabs and three cowroids in glazed steatite, faience, glass, and various fine stones, adorned for the most part with scrolls, plant forms, and other purely decorative elements or with hieroglyphic signs (𓆎, 𓆏, 𓆑, 𓆒, 𓆓, 𓆔, 𓆕, 𓆖, 𓆗) used in simple mottoes or in heraldic arrangements. Most interesting is a scarab beautifully carved in a fine brownish green stone and having engraved upon its underside the crouching figure of a winged griffin, a Helladic motif found also during this general period on the Cairo Museum's famous axe from the near-by tomb of Queen Aḥ-hotpe.

From the same series of burials come a blue faience amulet in the form of a couched lion and the majority of our Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty bead necklaces and girdles. Among the more striking necklaces is one composed of 444 pale gold disk beads with, at the ends, spe-

cially designed hemispherical gold caps to which the last four disks are soldered. A long string made up in equal parts of small gold ball beads and blue paste disk beads has at either end a blue paste leopard's head, and a similar string of minute faience disk beads is punctuated at intervals by long silver barrel beads. Twenty-six silver and greenish blue faience beads in the form of small semicircular pods (?) are strung together to form a necklace eleven inches in length. A short string of eight ball beads, graduated in size, includes two in amethyst, two in faience, three in glass, and one in glazed crystal. A necklace composed of grayish paste ball beads has as its central ornament an amulet in the form of a falcon. There are not only single faience beads in the forms of melons and periwinkle shells, but also a necklace found by Lord Carnarvon in which periwinkle beads and small ball beads have been strung together with a melon bead and a long drop-shaped bead in an elaborate and rather effective combination. There are, besides, a very large spherical bead of bluish green faience decorated with black bands, several large cylindrical beads with two or more rings marked at the ends, and 130 blue paste ball beads forming a string over thirty inches in length. Far and away the favorite type at this period was the plain, small disk bead, and of these we possess, in addition to the ones already mentioned, four necklaces and a girdle in faience, paste, shell, and mica. Having been found in organized excavations, all of the beads and amulets discussed above either are on their original strings or have been restrung in their original order. They comprise, then, actual ancient necklaces and girdles, not simply modern assemblages of miscellaneous, often unrelated beads which not infrequently pass for "necklaces" on the antiquities market.

The earring, an ornament probably of Asiatic origin newly adopted by the Egyptians of Hyksos times, is represented in our collection by twenty examples (ten pairs) found on burials of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties. Ten of these (five pairs) are small doughnutlike rings made of solid gold or of sheet gold over bronze

cores. Each is composed of a short, cylindrical bar of metal bent into a tight circle, but usually with a minute gap left between the ends. They average about three-quarters of an inch in outside diameter and something over a quarter of an inch in thickness. The other type of earring of which we possess five pairs consists of a length of gold or silver wire coiled into a tight, springlike spiral of two or three turns. Both types could probably be worn either clipped onto the ears or threaded through holes pierced in the ear lobes, the latter apparently being the more usual.

The final item in our Theban jewelry of this period is a thin, slightly curved silver ★wire, nine and a quarter inches in length, found partially encircling the waist of its deceased owner.

From the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Diospolis Parva (Hu), seventy-five miles north of Thebes, come a bottle-shaped ★amulet, or bulla, in carnelian and a string of brown and blue faience ★beads varying in shape between disks and globes. At Abydos the same tomb which yielded the pair of small female statuettes discussed above produced two ★girdles and a ★necklace of tubular beads, disk beads, and multiple-disk beads of light and dark blue faience and blue paste.

Like many of the foregoing, the remaining objects which we shall study in this section are, with very few exceptions, from intact burials of the Seventeenth or very early Eighteenth Dynasty in western Thebes. These burials, to which we have already referred several times, were cleared by our Egyptian Expedition under the direction of Ambrose Lansing during the seasons of 1915-1916, 1918-1919, and 1934-1935, and between 1907 and 1914 by the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter.

Among the possessions of these Thebans of Hyksos times ★combs were something of a rarity; but two examples were found, both of the small, short-toothed type carved from hardwood and adorned with simple incised decoration. The complete example, just over three inches in length, has a straight back with four small trapezoidal

spurs projecting upward from it. The back of the fragmentary comb, decorated with a row of concentric circles, was triangular and had at either end a crudely carved duck's head. A long, straight bone ★hairpin has a head in the shape of a crowned cobra, or uraeus, with the tail of the serpent winding down around the shaft of the pin.

Two handsome bronze ★mirrors, one small, one large, have handles of the traditional form, that of a papyrus column with a gracefully spreading umbel. In one case the handle is of copper, cast in one piece and slenderly proportioned; in the other it is of wood, the engraved shaft and umbel made in separate pieces and tenoned together. In both examples the tang of the slightly elliptical mirror disk is let into a deep slot in the top of the handle and fastened in place with a single rivet. What chiefly distinguishes the handles of these mirrors from the Twelfth Dynasty examples illustrated in the first volume of this book (figs. 154, 155) is the spread and slenderness of the papyrus umbels. A third ★mirror disk, just under four inches in diameter, may never have had a handle, its tang not being drilled for a fastening of any sort.

Among the articles which our Seventeenth Dynasty Egyptians used in applying cosmetics and otherwise making themselves presentable, major interest attaches to a slender wooden ★spoon elaborately carved over the whole eight inches of its length. This ornate and somewhat rococo object has a bowl in the form of a human hand holding a shell and a long slender handle carved with a continuous spiral design and ending in a duck's head turned back upon its own neck. Bronze ★tweezers, averaging around two inches in length, are fairly common, and we possess half a dozen examples of this period from western Thebes. A puzzling little bronze ★instrument, usually called either a "tweezer razor" or a "hair curler," consists of a small razor of the chisel type, to the side of which, one-third of the way along its length, a hollow, pointed prong has been attached by a single rivet, allowing the two parts of the implement to be manipulated like a pair of scissors or, perhaps more accurately, tongs. It is obviously a

composite instrument designed for several different purposes, among which may have been the curling and trimming of small locks of hair on a wig or natural coiffure. A lump of *pumice stone found in a box containing cosmetics was perhaps used as a cleansing agent. In the same box were a crystal of rock *salt, some chips of aromatic *wood, a fossil *shell, a dried *fig, a large quantity of *raisins, and some of the small *fruits of the nabk, or sidder, tree. Five little *hones of sandstone were evidently for sharpening razors and other small instruments of that general category. A slate blade with rounded ends and slightly convex sides, from a tomb of this period at Abydos, also was probably a *hone rather than a spatula, as was once thought.

Of twenty-eight cosmetic *vessels found in our Theban burials (see fig. 8), twenty-two are *kohl*-jars,

FIGURE 8. Cosmetic vessels of alabaster and other fine stones. H. $1\frac{3}{16}$ - $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

or *kohl*-pots, that is, small, squat vases of distinctive shape designed to hold a black eye cosmetic equivalent to, but not identical with, the modern Arabic *kohl* (see Part I, p. 242). Three similar *jars from a burial at Abydos include a fine example in alabaster in which the vessel is represented as resting on a small ring stand. As usual, the great majority of our *kohl*-jars are carved in "Egyptian alabaster" (calcite), but there are three examples of serpentine, two of pink limestone, one of "blue marble" (anhydrite), one of pottery, and one of wood. Many of the jars retain their flat, disk-shaped lids, some are stoppered with cloth, some still contain "*kohl*" (galena) or, in one case, green eye paint (malachite), and some are accompanied by the slender stick with one bulbous end used in applying the cosmetic to the eyes. The **kohl*-sticks, including eight examples from Abydos, are more often than not of ebony, but several are made of other hardwoods, a few of haematite, one of ivory, and one of bronze. The bronze stick,



which has a tiny circular bowl at the top end of its handle, could also be used as a cosmetic spoon. Besides the *kohl*-containers in the form of jars there are two *★kohl*-tubes, one a double-barreled affair carved in wood and provided with a swivel lid, the other simply a length of thick reed plugged at one end and covered at the other with a scrap of cloth tied in place with string. Each tube is equipped with a short wooden *★kohl*-stick. The other cosmetic vessels include two small blue faience *★bowls*, one carinated and flat-bottomed, the other having a curved profile and four small lug handles projecting horizontally from its rim. The first bowl once had black line decoration, but both it and its companion are now badly faded and discolored. In alabaster there are a large carinated *★bowl* with a flat bottom, a disk-shaped *★jar* lid slightly hollowed on the underside, and a pair of broad drop-shaped little *★jars*, resembling in their form the huge, bulbous pottery storage jars of the Twelfth Dynasty (see Part I, p. 262). An oval slate *★dish*, when viewed from above, is seen to have the form of the royal cartouche (□). Finally, there is a container which consists simply of a blown ostrich *★egg* with a circular hole neatly cut in one end. By way of decoration this hole has been surrounded by a ring of little circular cavities in each of which a tiny ring of bone has been inserted.

Many of the smaller personal possessions described above had been kept by their owners in little circular *★baskets* made of continuous coils of grass sewn with strips of rush. The three examples brought back by the Museum's Expedition in 1916 and 1919 average slightly over five inches in diameter. Each is provided with a low conical lid which fits inside the mouth of the basket, resting on a ledge-like inner rim.

Considering their rarity in tombs of other periods a rather surprising number of stringed musical instruments, especially harps, were found in our late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban burials. The five *★harps* from these burials in the Museum's collection are light, mostly four-stringed instruments ranging in length from

twenty-seven to forty-seven inches (see fig. 9). Their gently curving necks and long, boat-shaped soundboxes (once covered with skin membranes, or drumheads?) have caused them to be classed by musicologists as "arched," "naviform" harps; and since they were frequently held, when being played, against the harpers' shoulders, they have also on occasion been called "shoulder-harps." In four of our five examples the entire harp, with the exception of the suspension rod and the string-pegs, is carved from a single piece of dark, rather coarse-grained wood. The longitudinal suspension rod, to which the lower ends of the gut strings were once fastened, was movable, its point fitting loosely into a socket on the inside of the squared end of the soundbox, its butt attached by an adjustable loop of cord to the knob projecting from the curved end of the box. The upper ends of the strings were wound around the neck of the instrument and made fast to the small hardwood pegs, or pins, driven into its back. The tension of the strings and hence the tuning of the harp were controlled not by these pegs, which were immovable, but by tightening or slackening the cord holding down the butt end of the suspension rod—in other words, by raising or lowering this end of the rod. The hide drumheads, which must have passed under the suspension rods, seem in some cases to have been lashed in place with cords which have scored the rounded undersides of the soundboxes. The smallest of the five harps, though of the same type, is of unusual construction. Its neck and soundbox are separate pieces united by means of an ingenious, lashed lap joint; and, since the end of the soundbox away from the neck was open, the butt of its suspension rod was tethered to a slender, transverse bar fitted into the box near the end. In spite of its modest size this is the only instrument of the lot to have had five strings. An almost exactly similar harp in the Cairo Museum was published some years ago by Dr. Hans Hickmann.

In the same tomb with two of the harps was found a boat-shaped soundbox rounded at both ends and evidently once provided with a long, straight neck (see fig. 9). This, then, was not a



FIGURE 9. Musical instruments, including three harps, a lyre, and the soundbox of a lute. L. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -47 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

harp, but a ★lute, a three-stringed instrument of somewhat more advanced type, known to us chiefly from examples and representations of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and later times. The present soundbox is thirteen and a half inches in length. It is nicely made of a fine, ornately grained wood, reddish brown in color, and has a smooth finish inside and out. All around the outside of the rim there is a clean band where the edge of the rawhide(?) drumhead overlapped the sides and ends of the box, and along the lower edge of this band are streaks of pitch, probably used to fill the seam between the hide and the wood. The lute, a musical instrument unknown in Egypt before the New Kingdom, was, like the horse, the composite bow, and other innovations, probably imported from western Asia during the latter years of the Hyksos domination. If, as seems likely, our present fragmentary example is to be dated to the end of the Seventeenth or the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is the earliest Egyptian lute of which we now have any record.

The lyre, another stringed instrument of unquestioned Asiatic origin, was adopted by the Egyptians at about the same time; and it is not surprising to find it represented, with the lute and the naviform harp, among the musical instruments in vogue at Thebes immediately before and during the rise of the New Kingdom. Of the two examples found by our expedition in 1915-1916 the more complete was retained in the division of finds by the Cairo Museum. The other ★lyre (fig. 9, left), now in New York, has had much of its soundbox, parts of its yoke, and all of its strings and cord loops restored. Typologically it is an "oblique," or "asymmetrical," lyre with arms of unequal heights and different forms and with the crossbar of its yoke slanting sharply downward from one side to the other, so that the over-all height of the instrument on the left side is seventeen and a quarter inches and on the right side only thirteen inches. The shallow, trapezoidal soundbox consists of a stout wooden frame covered with a thin veneer of dark brown wood. It is open at the bottom and has projecting from near the lower edge of its front a bronze staple to which the lower ends of the six gut strings were made fast. At the top the strings were fastened to loops of

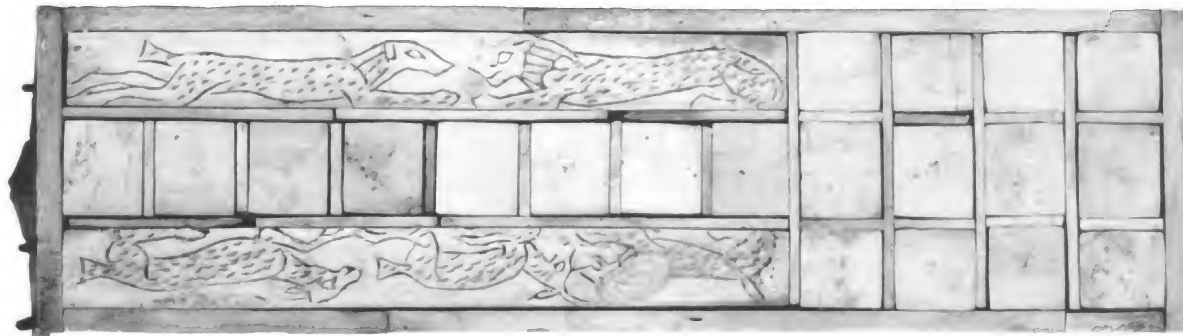
cord hitched tightly around the crossbar in such a manner that by rotating these loops in one direction or the other the tension of the strings could be altered and the instrument tuned as desired. A special advantage of the oblique lyre was that the tension of its strings could be changed by simply moving the loops up or down the slanting crossbar. When played, this lyre was usually held in a horizontal position, one hand sweeping down across all the strings with a plectrum, the other hand muting the strings which were not to be sounded. For many years after its introduction into Egypt it continued to be regarded as a "foreign" instrument, and is often represented in tomb paintings of the Eighteenth Dynasty being played by a Syrian.

Of the three instruments, then, the arched harp was the only one indigenous to Egypt, where from the Old Kingdom onward it had been used mainly to provide accompaniment for songs, often sung by the harper himself. Though we have the texts, or lyrics, of several of these songs—including one described as being "in the House of King In-yōtēf (of the Seventeenth Dynasty), before the singer with the harp"—we have little or no idea what the melodies were like. Musical notation of any sort seems to have been unknown in dynastic Egypt, the melodies being handed down from one generation to another, as they are today. From the harps themselves and the other, similarly limited instruments in use before the New Kingdom it has been surmised that the Egyptians of the earlier periods had only the simple five-tone scale, without half tones, and that their music in

general was austere, mild, and lacking in volume, characterized by quiet, tinkly rhythms and soft, flutelike sounds. During the Hyksos period and the early New Kingdom, constantly intensified contacts with the music and musical instruments of western Asia brought about a great change. It is probable that at this time Egyptian music not only became livelier and shriller, but also that the introduction of instruments like the multistringed harp, the multifretted lute, and the oboe with its numerous, closely spaced finger holes brought with it a much more elaborate system of tuning and a far greater flexibility and scope in the handling of tone.

The continuing popularity of board games among the Egyptians of late Hyksos times is indicated by the presence in one of our Seventeenth Dynasty Theban burials of a handsome little *game box overlaid with ivory. Dampness and termites in the tomb had severely damaged the wood of the box, and this has been restored in the Museum with, we believe, a very fair degree of accuracy. On one side of the box the little rectangles and strips of ivory are arranged to form three rows of ten squares each, the layout, or "board," for the ancient game which the Egyptians called *senet* and which modern writers sometimes refer to as "the game of thirty squares." The other and better preserved side of the box (fig. 10) carries the layout for a companion game, newly

FIGURE 10. Underside of a game box overlaid with ivory, from Thebes. L. 9 ½ in.



introduced from Asia and called in antiquity *tjau* ("robbers"?). An unusual and interesting feature of this board is the incised decoration of the long panels flanking the central "ladder." On one panel we see a crouched lion and two gazelles and on the other a lion confronted by a lop-eared hound in the much discussed pose known as the "flying gallop," possibly, though not certainly, borrowed from Helladic art. Both *senet* and *tjau* seem to have been games of position, like our parchesi or backgammon. Both were played with two sets of five or more pieces each, the moves being determined by throwing knucklebones or sets of wands, the equivalent of dice. The present game box is provided at one end with a small drawer locked by means of an ivory bolt (—) sliding in three bronze staples. In this drawer were found twelve ivory ★playing pieces for the games, six conical, six spool-shaped, as well as six ivory ★game wands, pointed at both ends, and a pair of ★knucklebones. An adjacent burial yielded a set of larger and more elaborate ★game wands nicely carved in hardwood. The four wands comprising the set average slightly over eight inches in length. Two have rounded ends like fingertips and two have pointed ends carved in the form of fox or jackal heads. All are flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, and each is adorned with three bands of closely spaced incised lines. It was apparently the way in which such wands fell when tossed that indicated the moves of the men in an associated board game. A leather-covered ★ball for an outdoor game is made of four segments of hide laced together with leather thongs and tightly stuffed with barley husks. Like the Eleventh Dynasty balls discussed in the first volume of this book (p. 251) it is smaller, lighter, and softer than a modern baseball, to which, however, it bears a marked resemblance.

The crude, but rather appealing, little figure of a heavily laden pack ★donkey (fig. 11), found by the Earl of Carnarvon on the hill slope northeast of Deir el Bahri, is believed with considerable plausibility to have been a child's toy rather than a funerary model. Both the animal and the nine

oval sacks which make up its load are modeled in Nile clay, the sacks being supported on four vine-leaf stalks thrust into the back of the beast. Fortunately, the figure had been packed in a small, wide-mouthed pottery ★jar of a type well known in the Second Intermediate period, and may be assigned with some assurance to the interval between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. A second ★donkey, in this case of red pottery, painted white, was found not far away, on the lower slopes of the Dirā' Abu'n Naga. Three and a half



FIGURE 11. Toy pack donkey of clay. L. $29\frac{9}{16}$ in.

inches in length, it carries no load, but is provided on its back with two looplike projections, perhaps part of a packsaddle. Both figures had undoubtedly once been associated with burials. Comparable to our two examples is a pottery donkey with packs discovered by Petrie in a tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty at Diospolis Parva (Hu).

Though in many cases the types of housefurnishings recovered from our Theban burials continued in use well down into the Eighteenth Dynasty, the great majority of the pieces which we are about to inspect were found in association with coffins of

the straight *rishi* type and are dated by their discoverers to the "IInd Intermediate Period," "Dyn. XVII," or, at the latest, "Dyn. XVII-XVIII."⁸

Ten wooden ★headrests are of the conventional columnar type (⌘) popular throughout the greater part of Egypt's dynastic history (Part I, pp. 120, 258). Most of them are made in three parts—the curved wooden "pillow," the rectangular or octagonal column, and the wide, flat base—joined together by a long square tenon running vertically up through the center of the headrest and occasionally capped, at the middle of the pillow, with a small square of ivory. A pair of bronze ★studs, their hemispherical heads overlaid with sheet gold, were probably used to fasten the pillow and shaft of a headrest to the central tenon.

The form of the little ★table shown in figure 12 was evidently inspired by one of the pair of great rectangular towers which flank the gateways of Egyptian temples and which, with the gateway proper, are generally referred to as the pylon. We see, in any case, in this gracefully proportioned small piece of furniture the salient characteristics of the pylon tower—the oblong rectangular shape, the sloping sides and ends, and the crowning cavetto-and-torus cornice. Made up of numerous pieces of fine hardwood, skillfully joined together with pegged tenons, the table shows on its top and along the edges of its legs the effective use of strips of light-colored veneer. Well designed, well made, and handsomely finished, it is a worthy forerunner of the many admirable works of craftsmanship produced during the great centuries of the New Kingdom.

Three small square ★stools of a common type (see fig. 12) have plaited rush seats and short, sturdy legs suggesting in their form the hieroglyph 𓏏, "protection." Though just over a foot square and less than six inches in height such stools were apparently employed as seats, not as footstools, an article of furniture which did not come into use in Egypt until well along in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

As can be seen in the photograph, the ends of the rails forming the frames of the stools are let into mortises running through the heavy upper sections of the legs. The rushes of which the seats are made are interlaced so as to produce a diagonal pattern, each rush passing under the first two to four cross strands, then over the next ten to twelve strands, and so on. At the edges the strands are looped entirely around the seat rails and secured with a row of knots. A stubby rectangular ★leg from a fourth stool of the same type measures only



FIGURE 12. A small table and a stool with a rush seat. L. of table 25 in.

five and a quarter inches in height. Four slender cylindrical legs, their lower parts waisted and decorated with bands of incised rings, are from two higher ★stools of a variety well known during the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Light horizontal stretchers found with the legs indicate that each of the two stools measured approximately the same in all three of its principal dimensions—in one case fifteen inches, in the other twelve inches. Both legs and stretchers are of some dark, heavy hardwood—perhaps tamarisk. The


[8] See the works of Carnarvon and Carter and of Lansing, Bibliography, §§ 20 and 22.

missing seat rails were probably of pine or a similar soft wood and the seats themselves of rushwork, string mesh, or leather.

What was once a handsome ★chair is now represented only by numerous fragments of its dark wood veneer and ebony and ivory overlay. The decoration of the back of the chair evidently consisted of alternating vertical bands of ebony and ivory topped by a horizontal panel of ivory, some sixteen inches in length, on which was engraved the winged sun's disk flanked on either side by the sun god's epithet "the Beḥdetite," written in monumental hieroglyphs. Other bits of the chair which had resisted the effects of dampness and proved unpalatable to the ancient termites include the ivory overlays for the angle braces joining the back to the seat, thin strips of hardwood veneer which had served as edging for the back and seat, and a great quantity of small notched pieces of ebony inlay of undetermined use. In view of their length and straightness no special knowledge is needed to conclude that the panels of ivory used in the adornment of the chair were sawn from the tusks of an elephant, not from those of a hippopotamus. This, no less than the lavish use of ebony in its construction and decoration, indicates that at the time this chair was made trade relations existed—perhaps had recently been re-established—between Upper Egypt and the lands to the south. Of a similar chair from an adjacent burial there remains only one front ★leg, skillfully carved in a hard, dark wood in the shape of the foreleg of a lion resting on a ribbed and tapered block. A short section of cylindrical wooden ★rail ending in a knob is perhaps also from a chair; and a very much larger ★knob, some three and a half inches in its maximum diameter, is known to have come from the end of a funerary bier. One final item of furniture is a very small wooden ★drawer, lap-jointed at the corners, which must have belonged to a game box, a cosmetic casket, or a jewel case.

The same adverse conditions which destroyed so much of the furniture must also have been responsible for the disappearance of most of the household baskets of this period. All that remain

are a shallow, open ★basket plaited of palm-leaf strip and indistinguishable from its modern descendant, a conical ★lid from a grass-coil basket sewn with strips of rush, and a circular basketry ★tray made of a thick grass coil lashed at intervals with two-ply grass cord. Four fragments of a coarse linen ★sheet, which had been used as a pall, preserve one selvage edge, one fringed edge, and one end with the usual long warp fringe, in this case braided.

Twenty-five pottery ★vessels give us a fair cross section of the types and wares in use in Upper Egypt during the Hyksos period. Among the larger vessels, elongated ovoid jars of greenish white desert clay ("kulleh-ware"; see Part I, p. 147) predominate and some of these show incised linear or "combed" decoration on the lips and shoulders. Drop-shaped jars and degenerated *hes*()-forms in fine red ware with polished red slip are particularly characteristic of the period; and the squat, carinated jar with red and black line decoration, so well known in the Eighteenth Dynasty, is beginning to make its appearance. Two slender-necked, cordiform vases in fine light-red ware are from the tomb in which was found Carnarvon Tablet I, a hieratic copy of a famous historical text dealing with the wars of King Kamose against the Hyksos (see p. 9). A pottery ring stand shows little advance over the Middle Kingdom model, but two little one-handled pitchers are similar to those seen in Eighteenth Dynasty banquet scenes. Other types include small flasks with long, corrugated necks, squat cordiform and drop-shaped jars with wide mouths, flat-bottomed bowls in coarse red or fine brown ware, and rough little saucers in soft reddish brown pottery. A beaker of polished black ware and three deep-red bowls with polished black tops, though found in ordinary Seventeenth Dynasty Theban burials, may be products of the so-called "pan-grave people," soon to be discussed. A fragment of a large kulleh-ware jar bears part of an incised hieroglyphic inscription referring to the "King's ḥarim."

Some of the jars and bowls contained supplies

of ★food, including small cuts of meat, grains of wheat, flat peas (*gilban*), figs, dates, and raisins. The fruits, or ★nuts, of the dōm palm, which Winlock has described⁹ as “a favorite food of the ancient Egyptians, frequently found in burials, especially in the period just before the Empire,” do, in fact, occur in some quantity in our Seventeenth Dynasty Theban burials, both in and out of pottery vessels.

Turning from housefurnishings to the equipment of some of the professions and trades, we encounter first a small group of weapons dated by their discoverers to the years immediately preceding the rise of the New Kingdom. Among these, major interest attaches to a composite ★bow, a powerful, long-range weapon of Asiatic design which in Egypt had only recently begun to replace the old, one-piece self bow of the Middle Kingdom and earlier periods (see Part I, pp. 279 ff.). The present, somewhat fragmentary specimen is a reflex bow, just under six feet in length, showing in its relaxed, or unstrung, state two arched limbs meeting at an angle at its center and curving away from the direction in which the bow was to be strung. It is made up of thin layers of horn glued to the front and back of a grooved wooden core and is bound the whole of its length with birch bark. The tree from which the bark was obtained, the European white birch, is not found in the Near East south of Cappadocia, and it is practically certain that the bark or possibly the bow itself was imported from some country well to the north of Egypt. Two large hardwood ★boomerangs, twenty-four and twenty-seven inches in length, were hunting weapons probably used chiefly for knocking over birds and small animals. Their thin, carefully shaped blades, though showing a marked twist, or skew, from one end to the other, are only slightly curved, and it would seem that these particular weapons are of the nonreturn type which has great range, but which has to be retrieved after every throw. A heavy bronze ★axe

head from Hu shows the slender, waisted shape characteristic of the late Seventeenth Dynasty and seen in the well-known axe of King Ka-mosē. The longer of two forked ★staves is an interesting example of ancient nature-faking, the “knots” at its lower end having been carved by the maker and the lateral leg of the “fork” being a separate piece of wood doweled in place.

The simple equipment of the Theban painter of this time is represented by a rough ★mortar and pestle of Nile mud stained with red pigment, an equally rough wooden ★paddle for mixing paint, and a lump of red ★ocher. A scribe’s writing ★palette, or pen case, nine and a half inches long, is carved in one piece from a narrow slab of hardwood capped at either end with a little plaque of ivory. Red pigment is caked in one of the two small, circular ink depressions near the top of the palette, and the thin wooden slip is still in position over the lower section of the pen slot. A second ★palette of exactly the same type is represented by a fragment only. Other items of the scribe’s equipment include a small ★water jar of buff pottery with brown linear decoration, and two large bivalve ★shells which had been used as inkwells.

The most noteworthy development in Egyptian burial customs during the period of the Hyksos domination was the widespread adoption by kings and commoners alike of the anthropoid, or man-shaped, coffin, the popularity of which now began rapidly to surpass that of the earlier, rectangular type. At Thebes the provincial craftsmen, unable to obtain good structural lumber, adopted the expedient of carving the boxes and lids of the coffins out of the rough, coarse-grained logs of the sycamore-fig tree in much the same manner as dugout canoes are produced in other parts of the world. Projections, such as the foot pieces of the anthropoid lids, were often shaped separately and doweled to the carved logs in the appropriate places, and rough patches, their joints smeared over with coarse plaster, are numerous. The highly distinctive form and decoration of these Seventeenth Dynasty coffins is well described by Ambrose Lansing, the discoverer of four of our eight ex-

[9] On a label written before 1920 to accompany a group of food supplies exhibited in one of our galleries.

FIGURE 13. *Rishi* coffin inscribed for the House Mistress Reri. L. 75 in.



amples, in his excavation report: "... the coffins were of the type known as 'Rishi,' a name taken over from the Arabic of the native workmen of earlier excavators into the vocabulary of Egyptology, and meaning 'feathered.' It aptly describes their appearance. They are anthropoid in shape, with a decoration representing the wings of a vulture spread protectively over the body, and the same motive repeated on the wig. The feathers are colored red, blue, and green, recurring in the same order, with black, or white and red tips, the whole on a yellow ground. This decoration is confined to the lid, the bottom of the coffin being commonly plain, or simply painted with broad bands of different colors. The faces, usually poorly modeled, may best be described as 'wedge-shaped' in appearance, a characteristic peculiar to the coffins of this period. On the chest a broad semicircular band is painted to represent the ordinary bead collar with pendants, sometimes replaced by a band imitating a braid of hair and hawk's-head shoulder pieces. A small vulture with outspread wings forms the center of the necklace, and a similar representation often occurs on top of the head-dress. Down the middle of the lid, between the wings of the vulture, a band with a border on either side is left for the inscription. This is the ordinary 'nisut-dy-hotep' offering formula—but it is usually omitted in the poorer coffins. The arms are not suggested, nor do the hands appear except in coffins of a time so late that the influence of the Eighteenth Dynasty is apparent in other respects also, notably the shape of the face and the treatment of the wig. The first reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty mark the disappearance of the true *Rishi* coffin. . . ."¹⁰

The Museum's eight *rishi* ★coffins range in length from just under six feet to just over seven feet, the great majority being within four inches one way or the other of six feet. For illustration we

[10] *M. M. A. Bulletin*, XII (1917), May, *Supplement*, p. 16.

have chosen a typical example of the *rishi* class (fig. 13) and one of exceptional interest because of the painted scenes on its sides (fig. 14). Though most of the coffins are inscribed down the center of the lid with a crudely written offering formula invoking Osiris or, more rarely, Ptaḥ, in only three instances have the names of their owners been filled in. The coffin shown in figure 13 belonged to the House Mistress Reri; another, not illustrated, to the King's Servant Res; and a third example—rather above average in quality—to a man named Pu-Ḥor-Senbu, whose other belongings have been discussed in the foregoing pages. On the rest the space either for the name or for the whole inscription has been left blank, or where the name should be the group *mn*, “so-and-so,” has been written in. Besides the elements noted by Lansing four of the coffins have, on the flat foot ends, large amuletic

symbols (𓆎, etc.) or, more often, kneeling or standing figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, accompanied in one case by a speech of assurance addressed by the goddesses to the deceased.

The painted scenes on the sides of the coffin of figure 14 show us in somewhat crude, but most interesting, fashion the funeral procession and the presentation of meat offerings at the tomb. On the left side the boat-shaped bier, containing the anthropoid coffin lashed in place under a canopy and attended by figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, is seen being dragged to the tomb by a team of oxen. It is accompanied on its way by male and female mourners and preceded, at the extreme right, by two offering bearers—a woman

FIGURE 14. Funeral scenes on the sides of a *rishi* coffin. L. 86 in.



with pottery jars slung from a yoke across her shoulders and a man carrying hoes and adzes in similar fashion. At the left end of the other scene we see the tomb doorway and, before it, the mummy of the deceased wrapped in white linen and lashed upright to a pole or stake. A light table bearing circular loaves of bread has beside it what appears to be a pile of meat offerings. To this pile three men are bringing the foreleg (*khopesh*), head, and ribs of the slaughtered ox which the butchers on the right are in the act of dressing. At the extreme right the bier stands emptied of its burden but with the figures of the two goddesses—evidently statues—still in position. The products of a provincial folk art, these little scenes show, nevertheless, in the slenderly proportioned and at times graceful figures as well as in the clear, uncrowded compositions some of the qualities that we associate with the tomb paintings of the earlier New Kingdom.

Part of another funeral scene is preserved on a ★fragment of an approximately contemporary coffin. The major interest here centers in the fact that the coffin over which, in the painted scene, the female mourners are shown lamenting is itself a *rishi* coffin, with plain, dark box and elaborately “feathered” lid. Interesting also are the women’s skirts, with ornamental bands at waist and hem, and the way in which they have discarded their upper garments and allowed their long hair to hang down in eloquent disarray. Other parts of anthropoid coffins of this period include a painted plaster ★face, formerly in the Murch collection, and two alabaster ★eye inlays from our Theban excavations, in one of which the black iris disk is of basalt, in the other of ebony.

A rectangular ★coffin from a tomb chamber of the late Seventeenth Dynasty on the Dirāʿ Abu’n Naga, though resembling superficially its Middle Kingdom forerunners, is flimsily constructed of light, coarse-grained planking and is gaudily decorated in a crude, “village” style. The narrow, rectangular box, six feet in length, is dovetailed at the corners and its low, vaulted lid was provided

with heavy, transverse end boards, only one of which has survived. The decoration consists largely of an over-all checkerboard pattern in red, white, and black on a brown background; but down the center of the lid there is a long offering formula in behalf of the coffin’s owner, the House Mistress Tety, on the ends of the lid there are pairs of *wedjat*-eyes, on the ends of the box an Anubis animal and figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and on the sides of the box rectangular panels containing crudely painted little scenes. In the panel on the right side of the coffin we see the spindly figures of four women with arms upraised in mourning, a row of eight tall pottery jars on stands, and a row of four smaller jars above an altar from which flames appear to be rising. One of the two panels on the left side of the box shows us a funerary ship of ancient type with the mummy of the deceased standing upright under a canopy amidships. A man carrying pottery jars suspended from a long yoke across his shoulders occupies the upper register of the other panel, and below, a very badly drawn little male figure guides a plow drawn by a team of spotted oxen. In spite—or perhaps because—of the childish naïveté of its decoration this is without much question one of the most interesting examples of this class of coffin which has come down to us.

No canopic equipment was found with our Second Intermediate period Theban burials; but in 1886 the Museum obtained from Sir Gaston Maspero’s work at Gebelein the canopic, or visceral, ★chest of a woman named Sit-Rēʿ, who, in spite of her typical Eighteenth Dynasty name, almost certainly lived and died during or even slightly before the Seventeenth Dynasty. The chest, made of thin sycamore planks, is dovetailed at the corners and provided with two floor battens. One of the end boards of its high, vaulted lid is integral with the lid itself, the other board being attached permanently to the box and grooved to take the end of the lid vault. The whole is painted a dull ochre yellow with black trim and carries, down the center of the lid vault, an offering formula written in black

hieroglyphs and invoking the god Osiris, Lord of Busiris, in behalf of "the spirit of Sit-Rē', the justified." There were no canopic jars, but four compartments on the interior of the chest contained its deceased owner's viscera wrapped in linen cloth.

The Seventeenth Dynasty, a period in many ways transitional between the Middle and New Kingdoms, marks an interesting stage in the development of the *shawabty*-figures, the small, mummiform statuettes which since the Eleventh Dynasty had been buried with the dead and since the Thirteenth Dynasty had come to be thought of as substitutes for their owners in the work gangs of the hereafter. A large pottery ★*shawabty* of Seven-

teenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty date (fig. 15) was purchased in 1912 from a native of the village of Kurneh and is probably from a tomb in western Thebes. Ten inches high, it is clumsily modeled in fine pinkish brown ware and is coated with a polished red haematite slip, on which the wig stripes, eyes, beard, bracelets, and inscription have been drawn in black. The face and the heavy wig are reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom; but the proportions and general style indicate a later date, as does also the fact that the text is a developed, if somewhat carelessly written, version of Spell VI

FIGURE 15. *Shawabty*-figures and coffins from western Thebes. H. of largest figure 10 in.



of the Book of the Dead (see Part I, p. 350), the so-called Chapter of the *Shawabty*. As is sometimes the case, the owner of the figure, the Scribe Neb-seny, is referred to in the third person in the body of the spell, which is here said to be recited by a man named Heny, perhaps a close relative. A slender alabaster *shwabty* has the name of its owner, "Abūt," written on its front in black ink, but is otherwise uninscribed. The long, full wig, the beardless face, and the feminine form of the name suggest that the person represented was a woman. As with the *shawabty* of Neb-seny just discussed, the hands are shown, in this case crossed over the breast, the right hand holding a folded handkerchief.

A type of *shawabty* popular at Thebes during the latter part of the Hyksos period and the early years of the New Kingdom is the small, mummiform figure crudely whittled of sycamore wood and usually enclosed within an equally crude miniature coffin of wood or Nile mud (see fig. 15). A few attempt to reproduce the angular mummy shape seen in the *rishi* coffins; but in most cases the figure is little more than a tapered stick with a pointed, featureless face at the broad end and a rectangular ledge, to suggest the feet, at the narrow end. The half-dozen Seventeenth Dynasty *shwabtys* of this type in our collection range in length from about

four to about eight inches. An unusual example, represented as lying upon a small rectangular coffin, the whole carved from a single block of wood, has a length of just under six inches. Two of the figures carry hieratic inscriptions in black ink: in one case an offering formula invoking Osiris, Lord of Abydos, in behalf of a Theban named Nefer-hotep-it; in the other, the *shawabty*-spell recited by a man named Djab. The little *shwabty* coffins show considerable variation in their forms. Some are rectangular with flat or vaulted lids, in both cases provided with upward-projecting end boards. Some are of the anthropoid *rishi* type. Others are merely split and hollowed replicas of the stick-like little figures which they contain. Several of the wooden coffins are whitewashed inside and out; one of the mud coffins has the outlines of a bearded face, a headdress, and bands of decoration scratched upon its lid. Ink inscriptions on the lids of two of the rectangular mud coffins tell us that their owners were named Sebet and Khonsu-hotpe, "the Little."

As early as the Eleventh Dynasty it had become the practice in the Theban necropolis to adorn the fronts of tombs with two or more rows of elongated pottery cones, set point first in the masonry near the tops of the tomb façades in such a manner that only the flat, circular bases were visible. The effect was that of the ends of closely spaced roof poles, and this was perhaps the intent of the arrangement from the outset. The individual cones, of soft, coarse, brown or reddish brown pottery, average around a foot in length and three and a half to four inches in maximum diameter. During the Middle Kingdom the bases of the cones were left plain, but toward the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty the Theban tomb owners began to stamp their names and titles on the ends of the cones before the latter were fired, using for the purpose circular or, more rarely, oval or square stamps probably of hardwood. This practice, confined to Thebes, continued far down into Late Dynastic times and has provided us with a vast corpus of Theban names and titles, many of which would otherwise be unknown. In our collection there are,

FIGURE 16. Genre figure of a woman in red faience. H. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.



all told, 370 funerary cones of which 183 were presented to the Museum in 1930 by Norman de Garis Davies, 33 were purchased at the sale of the Rustafael collection in 1915, and the balance are for the most part from our Theban excavations. Twelve ★cones from excavations in the ʿAsāsīf valley have been assigned by their discoverers to the Seventeenth or very early Eighteenth Dynasty. Four of these bear an oval impression with the title and name of the Steward Abety. The impressions on the other cones are all circular. They contain the titles and names of, respectively, the Herald Ibety (four examples), the Steward Kuy-em-Rēʿ, called Isy (two examples), and the Prophet Yaʿef-yeby (two examples).

5. Objects of Unknown Provenience Datable to the Hyksos Period

No period is represented in the Egyptian collection entirely by excavated objects of known source and pedigree. Many of our finest and most interesting pieces came to the Museum as gifts or purchases. Among the objects so acquired a not inconsiderable number can be attributed stylistically or on other grounds to the interval between the end of the Thirteenth and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The fact that in most cases we have no background information, geographical or otherwise, on such objects is frequently offset by the intrinsic beauty or interest of the pieces themselves, that is, by the qualities which first attracted the attention of their experienced purchasers, whether private collectors or museum curators. Most of the pieces which we shall take up in this section came to us, in point of fact, as parts of three great private collections: the Murch collection acquired in 1910 as a gift of Miss Helen Miller Gould, the Carnarvon collection purchased in 1926 with funds provided by Edward S. Harkness, and the Theodore M. Davis bequest which became the property of the Museum in 1930.

From the Carnarvon collection comes an attractive little genre ★figure in red faience of a woman

carrying her babies(?) in a basket on her back and leaning forward to grasp with her right hand the neck of a small dog (fig. 16). If the contents of the basket are, indeed, one or a pair of infant children, then it is probable, as has been pointed out elsewhere, that the statuette is intended to represent a Sudanese or Syrian woman, for Egyptian women did not normally carry their offspring in this fashion. Unencumbered by the conventions and formalities which governed more serious works, this unimportant little figure gives us a refreshing insight into the tastes and capabilities of the Egyptian artist when left to his own devices.

Of some five hundred and fifty scarabs, cow-roids, button seals, cylinder seals, and plaques assignable to the Second Intermediate period we have already had occasion to discuss those bearing the names of Hyksos and Theban kings, their families, and their officials, as well as a number found in position in a series of intact burials of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes. The balance, numbering about four hundred and twenty examples and consisting almost exclusively of scarabs of glazed steatite, come chiefly from the three collections just referred to and from the Farman and Ward collections of scarabs acquired for the Museum in 1904 and 1905 through the generosity of Darius Ogden Mills and J. Pierpont Morgan. Some others are from open excavations at Thebes and el Lisht, but are best considered with their numerous undocumented fellows of the same types, especially since with an object as small and readily portable as a scarab provenience is not a matter of much significance. For convenience in treatment these nonhistorical ★seals may be divided into several classes according to the subjects and designs engraved on their undersides.

Far and away the most interesting and, at the same time, the most characteristic of the period of Asiatic domination are those carved with figures of human beings or animals, sometimes grouped together into simple compositions (see fig. 17). Though Egyptian deities and Egyptian motifs occur on these "picture scarabs" we feel that both in style and subject matter they are much more



FIGURE 17. Scarabs and other seals of the Hyksos period. L. $\frac{9}{16}$ -1 in.

closely affiliated with the art of western Asia than with that of the Nile Valley. This is particularly clear in the draughtsmanship, poses, and proportions of the figures and in the often extensive use of crosshatching on their bodies and limbs. Among the deities represented we recognize the crocodile-headed Sobk, the falcon-headed Horus, and the horned *Ḥat-Ḥor*—unless, as has been suggested, the last two are, in fact, Asiatic divinities (*Ḥaurūn* and *ʿAstarte*?) like some of the other male and female figures shown. Among the animals the lion is the one most commonly represented, more often than not in victorious combat with one or more crocodiles or with several human adversaries. In two of our scarabs the animal seems to be a standing androsphinx rather than a lion. Antelopes occur with some frequency, and in one instance we find three of the graceful beasts in a circular

composition with a pursuing lion. Bulls, hippopotami, and apes are less commonly shown, but an example of each may be seen in figure 17 and there are others in our collection. Beetles, birds, goats, and uraei are also represented on scarabs of this class with varying degrees of frequency. Sometimes the backs of the seals are carved with figures and decorative motifs, an especially elaborate example, with a sphinx couched amid papyrus plants, appearing at the lower right-hand corner of our illustration. Professor Hanns Stock of Munich believes that many of the compositions on these scarabs may have been adapted from wall paintings or reliefs and that some of them may embody in partial or abbreviated form mythological and even political themes.

The symbols or names of leading Egyptian deities make up the legends on another fairly large class of scarabs of this period. The sistrum with the head of the goddess *Ḥat-Ḥor*, the Khepri beetle trundling before it the solar disk, and the squatting

ape of the god Thōt all occur with some frequency, while the name of Rēʿ is repeated over and over again on a series of scarabs from el Lisht and the name of Wen-nefer appears once on a seal from the Murch collection. These and similar scarabs of Hyksos times are the earliest to be engraved with divine figures, symbols, and names, which, though exceedingly common from the Eighteenth Dynasty on, are unknown on seals of the Middle Kingdom.

One of several classes of inscribed scarabs bear kingly titles and epithets—the “Good God,” “Lord of the Two Lands,” “Son of Rēʿ,” “Son of Amūn,” “given life”—used decoratively to fill the oval fields. A far larger class, numbering in our collection ninety-two examples, is made up of scarabs and other seals on which hieroglyphic signs with amuletic significance—“life,” “goodness,” “well-being,” “stability,” “protection”—are grouped so as to form decorative or heraldic designs. Within the designs the hieroglyphs, from two to fourteen in number, are usually arranged symmetrically, the paramount consideration obviously having been the ornamental effect, rather than the meaning, of the combinations. Understandably popular was the handsome and elaborate device symbolizing the union of the Two Lands and consisting of the papyrus of Lower Egypt and the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt knotted together around a ♂-sign. The same two plants, especially the papyrus, are also employed in various combinations in a long series of purely decorative patterns. Other patterns are made up of intricately interlaced and knotted ribbons or cords, sometimes combined with plant forms or with hieroglyphs. The spiral, or scroll, ornament, first seen in Egypt on seals of the First Intermediate period, had by Hyksos times reached a high state of development and achieved great popularity. It occurs in many forms and numerous combinations, some undoubtedly inspired by contemporary Aegean art, as the principal motif on over fifty scarabs in our collection and in borders and the like on many others. The forms include the S-spiral, the C-spiral, and the oval scroll, used as separate elements or linked

together in continuous border or over-all patterns. Frequently the scroll patterns are interspersed with plant forms and other types of ornament. To this already extensive repertory of decorative motifs found on our Hyksos period scarabs are to be added the looped cord, the cord edge, the square knot, the loaf pattern, concentric circles, crisscross patterns, and geometric linear designs of several different kinds. In themselves these scarabs offer a rich field of investigation for the student of ancient ornament, the designs on their undersides including not only traditional Egyptian elements, but also many motifs borrowed from other eastern Mediterranean peoples.

It was apparently during the Second Intermediate period that it first became customary to place on the breast of the deceased Egyptian a large scarab of dark stone inscribed on the underside with Chapter XXXB of the Book of the Dead, a “spell for preventing the heart” of the deceased “from creating opposition against him” in the judgment hall of the Underworld. Our collection includes a fragmentary ★heart scarab, as this type of amulet is now commonly called, datable to the Hyksos period and, like many scarabs of this period, having on its back a human face carved in place of the head of the insect. It is of polished basalt and is inscribed on the underside with parts of six horizontal lines of incised hieroglyphic text. In the inscription the legs of all bird hieroglyphs have been omitted for superstitious reasons—a practice particularly characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate period. The text, though incomplete, was clearly a version of Spell XXXB of the Book of the Dead similar to the one selected by Sir Alan Gardiner for translation in his *Egyptian Grammar* (p. 269): “O my heart of my mother! O my heart of my mother! O my heart of my different ages (lit. my forms)! Stand not up against me as a witness. Create not opposition against me as a witness. Create not opposition against me among the assessors. Do not weigh heavy (lit. make inclination) against me in the presence of the keeper of the scales. Thou art my soul which is in my

body, the Chnum who makes to prosper my limbs." The scales referred to are presumably those in which, in a well-known Underworld scene, the heart of the deceased is weighed in his presence against a figure or emblem symbolizing "right." A rubric appended to this spell in Books of the Dead stipulates that the heart scarab shall be made of nephrite(?) and shall be mounted in gold and provided with a silver suspension ring. Many heart scarabs of the New Kingdom and later times, as we shall see, still retain their gold mountings and the gold chains or wires by means of which they were once suspended from the necks of their deceased owners. Very few, however, are made of nephrite.

The Murch collection, especially, is rich in small *amulets* of the period extending from the end of the Twelfth to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. These are carved for the most part of such fine, hard stones as carnelian, agate, beryl, feldspar, lapis lazuli, quartz, rock crystal, haematite, and diorite; but two examples, a *wedjat*-eye and a fly amulet, are of chased sheet gold. Nearly all are pierced for stringing. Besides the ever-popular *wedjat*-eyes (𓇧) and numerous double-sided, beetle-shaped amulets (𓇧), the forms include a desert hare (𓇧), a crouching lion (𓇧), two falcons (𓇧) and a falcon's head, two frogs (𓇧), two tortoises (𓇧), a fly (𓇧), a claw or talon, and a number of drop-shaped, tooth-shaped, and bottle-shaped pendants.

From the same collection come nine strings of necklace *beads*, of which seven are composed of spheroid, disk, or barrel beads of conventional types and materials, the latter including carnelian, faience, and paste. There are, besides these, a string of hexagonal barrel beads made of wood covered with gold foil and eleven large and abnormally thick wooden disk beads also overlaid with gold. Two large barrel *beads*, one of sheet gold, the other of gilded wood, and a big cylindrical *bead* of glazed quartz are not attached to strings. Fifty-one amethyst barrel *beads* strung together with an amethyst *scarab* and a gold *eye* amulet came as a gift to the Museum in 1949

without external evidence of date, but may tentatively be assigned to the interval between the Middle and New Kingdoms. The same is true of a circular *bracelet* carved in one piece of pink limestone and a small green faience collar *terminal* of the plain semicircular type provided along its straight lower edge with eight string-holes. Two fragmentary bone *hairpins* are topped by minute carved figures of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret. One of these was purchased at Luxor in 1907; the other is from the Theodore M. Davis collection. Both have been dated "Dyn. XII-XVIII."

Sixteen *kohl*-jars of alabaster, anhydrite, serpentine, and basalt came to us, without indications of their original proveniences, from the Douglas, Drexel, and Murch collections. Among these there are, needless to say, a number of fine and interesting examples, including a small alabaster jar mounted on four short, domical feet. Two wide-mouthed little *jars* of somewhat similar type, one of alabaster, the other of steatite, were probably designed to hold some other cosmetic besides *kohl*. A thickset, flat-bottomed *flask* of alabaster is almost a duplicate of one found by Dr. George A. Reisner at Kermeh in the Sūdān and dated by him to the Hyksos period. Our flask, having been purchased at Luxor, is probably from Thebes or its vicinity. Two polished haematite *kohl*-sticks and a bronze *hair* curler, all from the Murch collection, are similar to those found in our Theban excavations and discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter.

Games are not well represented in the material of this period acquired by purchase or gift. All that has reached our collection from a game of "hounds and jackals" (see Part I, p. 250) is one of the jackal-headed *playing* pins, nicely carved in hardwood and resembling in its form the hieroglyph 𓇧.

A drop-shaped pottery *jar* of coarse buff ware is accompanied by a rough pottery saucer which serves as its lid.

Three *axe* heads, two of bronze, one of copper, came to the Museum in 1932 as an anonymous

gift. One of the bronze heads, of the heavy, deep-bladed type developed during the Twelfth Dynasty, was almost certainly a weapon. The other two heads, probably tools, are thin blades of the old-fashioned discoidal form known at least as early as the Old Kingdom. The example in bronze is solid; but the copper blade has two rectangular sections cut out of its middle, producing a simple openwork design—the forerunner of the similar, but more elaborate, cutout designs which we shall see on the ceremonial axe heads of the New Kingdom.

One final Hyksos period object of well-known type, but of unrecorded provenience, is a scribe's [★]ink-grinder, or pestle, of serpentine, acquired in 1941 as part of the bequest of W. Gedney Beatty.

FIGURE 18. Pan-grave and Nubian C-Group pottery. H. of jar in bottom row 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

6. The Pan-Grave People and Their Possessions

Contemporary with the Hyksos occupation of northern Egypt we find in the South, between Asyūt and Aswān, copious evidence of the immigration into this area of a Nubian people of mixed Hamitic and Negro blood, whose homeland was probably the region around the Second Cataract of the Nile. Fifteen Upper Egyptian sites, from Deir Rifeh on the north to Daraw on the south, have yielded the characteristic circular or oval graves of these immigrants, and at Mustagiddeh and ẖau are the scanty remains of small settlements occupied by them. At Hu, near Abydos, where the presence of this people first became known to modern excavators, their graves are shallow, panlike cavities in the desert surface and,



although this is not the case in the majority of their cemeteries, the name "pan grave" has been retained as a convenient term, applied both to the graves themselves and to the culture which they represent.

In common with other Nubian cultures of this period that of the pan-grave people still preserves characteristics originated, millenniums earlier, in the predynastic civilizations of southern Upper Egypt. It is closely related to, but not identical with, the latest phase of the so-called C-Group culture found in Lower Nubia between the Old and Middle Kingdoms and also shows less well defined affiliations with the civilization of the Kermeh people of the northern Sūdān.

The homogeneity of the pan-grave culture is accented rather than weakened by the occurrences at different sites of minor variations in the forms of the graves and their contents. The graves, ten to fifteen inches deep at Hu, range in depth at other sites to as much as six feet. The bodies, clad in leather garments (see p. 19) and adorned with primitive jewelry, usually lie on their right sides in contracted position with the heads to the north and the faces to the west. Among the more distinctive items of jewelry are bracelets made of strips of shell or mother-of-pearl threaded together side by side. Pan-grave pottery is confined almost entirely to small, deep bowls of red, black, and black-topped ware with or without incised decoration. Near the graves, in shallow deposit pits, were stacked more pottery bowls and skulls of various horned animals crudely adorned with painted decoration.

The Museum's small, but representative, collection of pan-grave material includes two complete ★bracelets and six loose ★bracelet plaques acquired as gifts in 1916 and 1910. Our pan-grave ★pottery consists largely of bowls and cups of polished black-topped red ware, of both the deep, thin-walled type with flaring rim and the heavier, roughly hemispherical shape, sometimes with incised decoration around the rim (see fig. 18). Three of the deep bowls, purchased in 1920, are from Professor John Garstang's work at Abydos,

while three bowls of the shallower type and the polished black beaker come from a *rishi* burial in western Thebes and have already been referred to in the fourth section of this chapter. A pink pottery dish with burnished black inside and incised decoration on the exterior was purchased at Luxor in 1912, but the small black-topped jar with pointed bottom is of unknown provenience and may actually be predynastic rather than pan-grave. For comparison and because they were omitted in the first volume of this book there are included, in the bottom row of our figure, a few pieces of Nubian C-Group ★pottery found by the Oxford expedition to Faras in 1912 and probably to be dated to the Middle Kingdom. Bowls and jars of much the same types with very similar incised decoration occur also in pan-grave burials in Upper Egypt.

Of twenty-four pairs of animal ★horns from pan-grave deposits a selection is shown in figure 19. Among these we recognize without difficulty the horns and frontal bones of the longhorn steer (*Bos Africanus*), the longhorn sheep (*Ovis longipus palaeoaegyptiacus*), the fat-tailed sheep (*Ovis platyra aegyptiacus*), the Mambrine goat (*Hircus mambriacus*), the gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*), and (not shown in the figure) a young specimen of the Nubian ibex (*Capra Nubiana*). Both horns and frontal bones are usually decorated with crudely painted designs, the former with broad rings of solid color or with bands of dots applied with a fingertip, the latter with red crosses surrounded by spots. Soot and red ocher appear to have been the only pigments used. It is believed that these barbarous and typically "African" ornaments or amuletic devices were intended originally to be hung on the walls or over the doors of their owners' houses.

Numerous weapons recovered from the relatively small number of unplundered graves indicate clearly that the pan-grave people were a warrior race and suggest the conclusion that they were imported into Upper Egypt as professional soldiers. This conclusion is supported by the types of weapons, which are all of Egyptian design and manufacture, and by the presence in the same graves of gold jewelry and other objects of in-

trinsic value. Most significant is the fact that the cemeteries and settlements of the pan-grave people, though widely distributed throughout southern Upper Egypt, do not extend northward into Hyksos territory, but are confined to the country south of Kusae—in other words, to the realm governed by the Theban rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty. They must, then, have been Nubian troops who served as auxiliaries in the armies of Thebes and are in all probability to be identified with the famous Medjay, used as scouts and light infantry by the Egyptians from the late Old Kingdom onward and twice mentioned by King Kamose in the account of his campaign against the Hyksos. If the identification, suggested by Professor Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, is correct, we must abandon the old conception of the pan-grave people as casual, seminomadic settlers on the fringes of the Nile Valley and recognize them as

active participants in Egypt's struggle for independence and in that phase of Egyptian history which led to the founding of the New Kingdom.

By the end of the Second Intermediate period the Nubian immigrants had apparently become completely Egyptianized and in the New Kingdom their presence in Egypt is no longer demonstrable on purely archaeological grounds. Men of Nubian race, however, have continued to serve in the Egyptian army and police force until the present day, and we may be sure that throughout the dynastic period many Nubian and Sudanese tribesmen, particularly the warlike Medjay, resided with their families within the boundaries of Egypt itself.

FIGURE 19. Animal horns and frontal bones from a pan-grave cemetery. W. of largest pair of horns 29 1/2 in.



II. The Rise of the New Kingdom

1. Aḥ-mose I and Queen Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry

THE CAPTURE OF AVARIS about 1567 B.C. marked the end of the Hyksos rule in Egypt and the inauguration of the great era in Egyptian history which we call the New Kingdom. At Thebes the throne had passed from the redoubtable Ka-mose to his younger brother, King Neb-peḥty-Rē Aḥ-mose I; and it was he who in the third or fourth year of his reign besieged and sacked the enemy capital, breaking the power of the Asiatic rulers and depriving them of their last foothold within the boundaries of Egypt. Our only eyewitness account of the taking of Avaris is a somewhat subjective version preserved at el Kāb in the tomb of one of the king's marines, Aḥ-mose, son of Ebana, who, in itemizing his own deeds of valor, lets it be known that the city fell after a series of assaults by land and by water and provided, when finally taken, a very gratifying amount of plunder.

King Aḥ-mose I, hailed by posterity as the father of the New Kingdom and the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was evidently a man of exceptional vigor and ability. Characteristic is the manner in which he followed up his victory at Avaris by his three-year siege and capture of the Hyksos base at Sharuhēn in southern Palestine and by his pursuit of the enemy northward into Syria, moves successfully designed to forestall once and for all any recurrence of the disaster from which Egypt had just extricated herself. Characteristic, too, is the way in which, with the

Asiatic menace removed, he instantly set about recovering control of Nubia, which during the Second Intermediate period had broken free from Egypt and in the time of King Ka-mose was, as we have seen, governed by a local ruler called the Prince of Kush. Without encountering serious resistance Aḥ-mose in his first campaign upriver regained control of Wawat, or Lower Nubia, probably as far south as the Second Cataract, and may even have reached the island of Sai, between the Second and Third Cataracts; but was forced to return twice to crush rebellions fomented apparently by relatives of the deposed native princes. As governor, or viceroy, of the newly recovered province the pharaoh appointed his son, Aḥ-mose Si-Ta-yīt, with the title King's Son and Overseer of Southern Countries. Once established, the viceroyalty of Nubia continued to exist throughout the New Kingdom as one of the most important offices in the pharaonic administration and its incumbents continued to bear the title King's Son or, later, King's Son of Kush. The successors of Aḥ-mose Si-Ta-yīt and his son Tjuroy appear, however, not to have been members of the royal line, but high-ranking civilian officials selected for their administrative ability and their unquestioned loyalty to the crown.

The rebuilding and refurnishing of the temples of Egypt's gods, neglected and probably damaged and looted during the Hyksos regime, ranked high

on the list of AḤ-mošĚ I's activities. A great stela from Karnak records his splendid gifts to the temple of the state god Amun Rē', and an inscription in the Muḡattam Hills near el Maḡsareh tells how in the twenty-second year of his reign the famous limestone quarries "were opened anew" and blocks were extracted for the temple of Ptaḡ at Memphis(?) and the temple of Amūn at Luxor.

At Abydos, the Upper Egyptian cult center of the great funerary god Osiris, the monuments of AḤ-mošĚ include a pyramidal cenotaph adjoined on its eastern side by a small mortuary temple. The temple was chiefly of brick, but contained rectangular piers of limestone on the sides of which the king was represented in painted relief confronted and embraced by various deities. A fragment of one of these ★piers, which came to us in 1906 as a gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, preserves the head of the pharaoh wearing the crown of Lower Egypt (fig. 20). At the back of the king's neck, projecting upward from behind the right side of his broad collar, is the hand of a destroyed figure of the god Rē' Ḥor-akhty who stood facing him on the pier and whose name is preserved along the left side of the fragment. At the extreme top edge of the piece are parts of hieroglyphic signs in the familiar formula "given life, stability, and well-being," which in this case, as always, must have been preceded by the cartouches and titles of the king. In this interesting representation of the Red Crown the complex form of the upright element at the back is carefully delineated and the neck-flap at the base of the crown is carried forward under the ear as in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In general the relief shows little advance over its Middle Kingdom models and on the basis of style alone might well be dated to the Twelfth or even to the late Eleventh Dynasty. Though hardly a portrait in the modern sense, the face of the king—particularly the long, straight nose—is consistent with the very few other representations of AḤ-mošĚ I which have come down to us. The king's face is painted dark red and traces of red paint are still visible on the crown. The corners of the original pier were

beveled and a section of beveled corner may be seen along the right edge of our piece.

A fragment of very fine limestone ★relief found by Edouard Naville in the ruins of the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el Baḡri preserves what may also be a figure of AḤ-mošĚ I. Here again the king wears the Red Crown, treated as in the Abydos relief, and, in addition, a short ceremonial garment of archaic type with a strap over one shoulder, a broad collar and a pair of bead bracelets, and on his chin the long, curved beard of a god. He stands facing right, holding in his left hand what was evidently a tall staff or scepter and in his right hand a mace with a pear-shaped head. A symbol of "life" (𐀀) dangles before the royal nose from the neck of a uraeus serpent which descends from some object now lost, probably a solar disk. Feminine hands appearing at the king's shoulder and waist belong undoubtedly to a queen or goddess who stood behind him. The relief is bold, assured, and rich in detail, but rather small in scale, the height of our fragment, on which

FIGURE 20. King AḤ-mošĚ I, painted limestone relief from Abydos. H. 17 ¾ in.



two-thirds of the king's figure is preserved, being less than eleven inches.

Not far from his own cenotaph at Abydos Aḥ-mose I caused to be erected a chapel for his grandmother, Queen Tety-shery. A magnificent stela found in this chapel speaks of his affectionate remembrance of Tety-shery and of the pyramid and funerary foundation which he provided for her in the "Holy Land," or cemetery of Abydos.

Even greater was the respect and devotion evinced by the founder of the New Kingdom for his mother, Queen Aḥ-hotpe, and for his sister and wife, Queen Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry. The treasure of jewelry and jeweled weapons which he caused to be buried with his mother has for almost a century been one of the marvels of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Among the many honors which he heaped upon his wife was the office of Second Prophet of Amūn which he permitted her to assume temporarily and for the relinquishment of which she was handsomely reimbursed. The relinquishment and the lists and values of the property involved are recorded on a block of limestone recovered not many years ago from the fill of the third pylon of the temple of Amūn at Karnak. Frequently represented in the company of her husband and, later, of her son King Amun-hotpe I, Queen Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry was evidently one of the most able, respected, and beloved women of her time. Deified shortly after her death, she became identified as a patron of the Theban necropolis, her cult and that of her son, Amun-hotpe I, remaining popular throughout the whole of the New Kingdom and down into the Late Dynastic period.

After reigning, according to Manetho, over twenty-five years, Aḥ-mose I died before reaching the age of fifty and was succeeded on the throne by Amun-hotpe I, the eldest of his surviving sons. Aḥ-mose's tomb has not been discovered; but his mummy, rewrapped in the Twenty-First Dynasty, was found in 1881 in the Cache of Royal Mummies at Deir el Bahri.

Few museums boast many monuments of Aḥ-mose I. Of objects bearing his name which were

made during his reign our own collection contains only fragments of three inscribed alabaster ♂ jars found in the tomb of Amun-hotpe I, six ♂ scarabs, a ♂ cowroid, a cartouche-shaped ♂ plaque, an oblong ♂ plaque, and three funerary ♂ cones from the tomb of a contemporary Theban official. The incised hieroglyphic inscriptions on the jar fragments give the titles and names of the king—the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-peḥty-Rē", Son of Rē, Aḥ-mose, given life forever"—accompanied in one case by the name of a queen, of which only the letter *ḥ* now remains, and in another instance by a fragmentary text in which occurs the name of the eastern country, Keḏem, followed immediately by the words "seeking recreation." The cowroid, the plaques, and five of the scarabs are inscribed with the king's praenomen, "Neb-peḥty-Rē", the sixth scarab bearing his personal name, "Aḥ-mose." Most of these seals are from private collections and are of unknown provenience; and, with the exception of two scarabs of blue and yellow faience, all are made of blue- or green-glazed steatite. The oblong plaque, from Lord Carnarvon's excavations in western Thebes, has carved upon its back in high relief the upright figure of a winged sphinx, a motif strongly reminiscent of the winged griffin on Aḥ-mose's famous axe head in the Cairo Museum. The funerary cones are inscribed for the "First Prophet (i.e., High Priest) of Amūn and Overseer of Treasurers Thūty," but make prominent mention of the reigning pharaoh, either as the "Good God, Neb-peḥty-Rē" or as the "Son of Rē, *Ḥik-towy*," in both cases said to be "given life forever." *Ḥik-towy*, "Ruler of the Two Lands," is here substituted for the king's personal name and was evidently a recognized way of referring to Aḥ-mose I. The funerary cult of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty clearly continued for a considerable time after his death; and on the stamped ♂ bricks of Seni-men, a prominent official of the reign of Hat-shepsut, we find among their owner's titles that of "Page of (King) Neb-peḥty-Rē."

Queen Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry survived the death

of her husband and lived on well into the reign of her son, so that some at least of her many monuments are to be dated to the time of Amun-hotpe I rather than to that of Aḥ-mošĚ I.


The drop-shaped alabaster *star*jar, shown in figure 21 restored from fragments in the Museum's collection, was found in the tomb of Amun-hotpe I. In the panel on its shoulder we read in well-cut, incised hieroglyphs: "The King's Daughter, the Sister of the Sovereign, the God's Wife, the King's Great Wife, the King's Mother, Aḥ-mošĚ Nefret-iry, may she live forever!" This elaborate titulary reminds us that the queen was a daughter of King Seḫen-en-Rē' Ta'o II, the sister and principal wife of King Aḥ-mošĚ I, the mother of King Amun-hotpe I, and, in theory, the consort of the god Amūn. The form of the jar is an early version of an exceedingly common Eighteenth Dynasty type—one which we shall encounter again and again in the pages to follow. Fragments of four other alabaster *star*jars from the same tomb also bear the names and titles of Aḥ-mošĚ Nefret-iry. Among the latter, besides those already listed, "King's Sister" occurs twice and "She Who is United to the White Crown" once. On one fragment the name of the royal lady is followed by the words "beloved of [Amun] Rē', Lord of Karnak." The rubbish in the tomb also yielded fragments of a serpentine statuette of a lady, believed at one time to be the great queen herself, but which, to judge from its style and its elaborate costume, probably belonged to an "intrusive" burial or votive group of the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty (see p. 311).

From a chapel erected by Amun-hotpe I at Deir el Bahri and subsequently engulfed by Ḥat-shepsūt's terraced temple come mud *star*bricks, almost a foot in length, each bearing on its broad upper surface an oval stamp impression with the name of Aḥ-mošĚ Nefret-iry, who evidently shared the proprietorship of the building with her royal son.

A faience *star*counterpoise inscribed for Queen Aḥ-mošĚ Nefret-iry belongs to a type of ceremonial necklace which was associated, at least as



FIGURE 21. Inscribed alabaster jar of Queen Aḥ-mošĚ Nefret-iry. H. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

early as the Middle Kingdom, with the cult of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor and is frequently found in the possession of her female devotees or, as a votive object, in the ruins of her temples. Called a *menyet*, or "*menat*," such a necklace was composed of multiple strands of small beads attached at the ends to single strands of larger beads, from each of which depended a long counterpoise of stone, faience, or metal. In votive *menyets* of the New Kingdom the two counterpoises are usually combined into one with, however, a groove running around the outside edge to suggest two elements placed together; and the counterpoise itself is nearly always given the distinctive form which we see in the *menyet* hieroglyph, , and in the late Eighteenth Dynasty example of figure 153. Once believed to have been a musical instrument, like the Hathorian sistrum with which it is often associated, the *menyet* is now generally recognized as a magical, amuletic object thought to have been imbued with the same beneficial and protective powers as the divine being whose symbol it was.

More recently the shape of its counterpoise has been compared with that of the "paddle dolls" of the Middle Kingdom and emphasis has been placed upon the role of the *menyet* as a symbol of fecundity and upon its association with the birth of the god Horus and hence, with the idea of birth and rebirth in general. Our present counterpoise, made of fragile blue faience, was probably an ex-voto or funerary model and, as such, complete in itself, though its squared end is pierced with two holes so that it could actually have been attached to a necklace. Over seven inches in length, it is inscribed on both sides with the title and name of the queen, the "God's Wife Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry—may she live!" who is said to be "beloved of Ḥat-Ḥor," in one case "Mistress of Denderah" in Upper Egypt, in the other "Mistress of Tepēḥu," an important cult center of the goddess near the Fayyūm. The disk-shaped end of the counterpoise is adorned on each side with a rosettelike design drawn in black outline. A fragment from the mid-section of another blue faience ★counterpoise of the same type preserves on one side the cartouche of Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry preceded by the title "[King's] Mother," and on the other side what appears to be part of Amun-hotpe I's throne name, "Djeser-ku-[Rē]." This piece, like many other fragments of faience ex-votos, comes from the shrine of Ḥat-Ḥor at Deir el Bahri, having been found by our expedition in a rubbish pit immediately in front of the shrine. Part of a glazed steatite ★rod, seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, is also inscribed for the "King's Mother, Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry" and, like the other monuments on which she bears this title, must obviously have been made during or after the reign of her son.

On her numerous ★seals the great queen is usually referred to as the "God's Wife Nefret-iry," this being the case with a duck-shaped seal, six scarabs, and three cowroids of green-glazed steatite and with a fine scarab of red jasper once part of the Timins collection. On three other scarabs of glazed steatite she is called, respectively, the "King's Wife Nefret-iry," "Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry" without title, and simply "Nefret-iry," the last

name, however, being enclosed within a cartouche. One of two steatite cylinder seals is inscribed for the "King's Daughter, God's Wife, and King's Sister Nefret-iry"; and the other for the "Hereditary Princess, great of favor, Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry." "The God's Wife Nefret-iry" is inscribed around the circumference of a large, gold-mounted carnelian ball ★bead, and four similar ★beads of glazed steatite bear the same name preceded by one or another of the titles "King's Wife," "God's Wife," and "She Who Is United to the White Crown."

The funerary ★cones of a Theban named Ḥab-em-weskhet tell us that he was a Doorkeeper of the Granary of the God's Offering (i.e., temple property) of Amūn and Overseer of the Magazine of the God's Wife Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry; and the Steward of Amūn, Ro-au, whose tomb ★door-jambs (see p. 129) were provided for him by King Thut-mose III, was also a steward of the estates of our early Eighteenth Dynasty queen.

Among our facsimile color ★copies of Theban tomb paintings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties are four in which Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry and Amun-hotpe I appear together as deities receiving the offerings and prayers of the tomb owners, and one in which a statue of the deified queen is shown being brought out of a temple on the occasion of an important annual festival.

2. Amun-hotpe I and His Family

The reign of King Djeser-ku-Rēḥ Amun-hotpe I is fairly well fixed, both as to date and duration. The Papyrus Ebers, an early Eighteenth Dynasty copy of one of the great medical compilations of Egyptian antiquity, bears on the verso a calendrical table dated to the ninth year of the king's reign and embodying a record of the heliacal rising of the star Sothis (Sirius) on the ninth day of the eleventh month of the Egyptian civil calendar (see Part I, pp. 39 f.). This enables us to identify the year in question with considerable probability as 1537 B.C., to place the king's accession nine

years earlier, in 1546 B.C., and, on the basis of an inscription of one of his officials, to set his death in the twenty-first year of his reign, or 1526 B.C.

A worthy successor of his father, whose program of recovery and whose internal and foreign policies he vigorously carried forward, Amun-ḥotpe I appears to have merited well the reputation for greatness which culminated, as we have seen, in his being made a tutelary divinity of the Theban necropolis. Though probably more concerned with the organization of the kingdom than with foreign wars of conquest, the new ruler found time to consolidate and expand the conquest of Nubia so that in the seventh and eighth years of his reign his Viceroy, Tjuroy, was able to carve inscriptions near the Middle Kingdom border forts at Semneh and Uronarti at the southern end of the Second Cataract. Inscriptions of Amun-ḥotpe I have been found also at Sai, below the Third Cataract. The king is credited with having crushed an uprising of the Libyan tribes of the Western Desert and with having made important progress toward the conquest of Palestine, though the last-named accomplishment is at the moment more a matter of supposition than of record.

Architecture and the allied arts began to flourish again on a grand scale during his reign, and the buildings which he erected, particularly in the temple enclosure of the state god Amun-Rē at Karnak, were monuments of great dignity and beauty. Especially striking is a small shrine built entirely of alabaster from the famous quarry at Ḥat-nūb and designed as a way station for the barque of Amūn during its processions around the temple area. This little structure, recovered piecemeal from the fill of the third pylon of the Amūn temple, is adorned with fine reliefs and inscriptions, not only of Amun-ḥotpe I himself, but also of his successor King Ṭḥut-mose I, who may for a short while have shared the throne with him.

A limestone building of more monumental proportions was also erected by Amun-ḥotpe I at Karnak, and it was perhaps from this structure that there came a fragment of fine limestone
*relief with an over life-size portrait head of the



FIGURE 22. King Amun-ḥotpe I, a block of limestone temple relief. H. 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

king (fig. 22). In the relief, formerly part of the Alphonse Kann collection, the pharaoh wears a close-cropped, caplike wig and a diadem, probably of metal, but reproducing in its form the *seshed*, or "boatman's circlet," a fillet of ribbon tied in a bowknot at the back of the head with the ends pendent. The hooded head of the royal cobra, or uraeus, rises from the front of the circlet and appears again on the streamers at the back. The loops of the bow, as almost always in circlets of this type, have been given the form of two papyrus umbels springing from a circular boss. The subtly modeled face exhibits all the characteristics which we find in other good portraits of the king: the prominent, arched nose, the small, tight mouth, the hard, narrow eyes, and the high, massive cheekbones. Further identification is provided by the bit of cartouche at the upper left-hand corner of the fragment which preserves the final *p* (𓂏) in the pharaoh's personal name as it is normally written, without a following epithet. The small human foot above the head is undoubtedly part of the *b*-hieroglyph (𓂏) in the expression *snb(w)*, "May he be healthy!" The quality of this relief tells us most eloquently how far Egyptian art had progressed on the road to recovery by the time of

Amun-hotpe I; and the style, though retaining much that reminds us of Twelfth Dynasty work, is already beginning to show the softer and more generalized modeling of royal temple sculpture of the New Kingdom.

Allowing for the slight difference in appearance occasioned by the fact that in the relief the sculptor has depicted the king's eye in full front view and has shown more of the mouth than would normally appear in profile, we have no difficulty in seeing that the same face is represented in three fragmentary sandstone *heads found by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition in western Thebes, one of which is shown in figure 23. These heads are from over life-size statues of Amun-hotpe I, in the guise of the mummiform god Osiris, which once stood along the avenue leading up to the small brick chapel erected by the king and his mother, Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry, at Deir el Bahri on the site of the forecourt of the later temple of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt. A complete statue of this series in the British Museum stands nine feet two inches in height and wears on its head the Double Crown (𐀀) of Upper and Lower Egypt. In all three of our head fragments the faces are painted red, the eyes black with white corneas, and the beard straps blue. The blocks for these statues were probably quarried at Gebel Silsileh, ninety-five miles upriver from Thebes, where the king himself is represented in a relief of later date and whence his successors drew the bulk of the stone for their gigantic temples. Two mud *bricks from the Deir el Bahri chapel are stamped with Amun-hotpe I's throne name, "Djeser-ku-Rē"; and this is found also on a fragmentary faience *menyet* *counterpoise from the adjoining shrine of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor.

Faced with the plundering of the royal pyramids of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, which during the Hyksos period must have reached wholesale proportions, the founders of the Eighteenth Dynasty adopted the policy of separating their mortuary temples from the underground burial complexes of their tombs and concealing the latter in the desert hills behind the Theban

necropolis, where, unmarked by superstructures of any kind, it was hoped that they might escape detection. The tomb of Amun-hotpe I, its entrance pit half hidden under an overhanging boulder, was excavated high up on the rocky slope overlooking the Dirā' Abu'n Naga, more than eight hundred and fifty yards north-northwest of the king's mortuary chapel in the plain below. In its general form and arrangement the tomb is the prototype of subsequent royal tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. From the foot of the entrance shaft a corridor over thirty feet in length leads to a square chamber having its floor cut away to form a deep well, a protective device found also in the tomb of Queen Aḥ-mose Meryet-Amūn and in those of Kings Thut-mose III to Amun-hotpe III inclusive. Thence a second long passage, at a slight angle with the first, gives access to the oblong burial chamber, a big rectangular room with two square, rock-cut piers left standing in its middle. A small chamber opening from one side of the first corridor is perhaps to be equated with the antechamber found in all later royal tombs.

Repeatedly plundered in spite of the precautions taken to conceal it, the tomb nevertheless yielded, when cleared by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter in 1914, a quantity of broken antiquities belonging to the period of its original occupancy. Among these, besides the vase fragments of Aḥ-mose I and Queen Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry already discussed, are five fragmentary *jars of alabaster inscribed with the names and titles of Amun-hotpe I himself. The jars show a certain amount of variation in their forms, but their panels of inscription are the same throughout, reading in every case: "The Good God, Djeser-ku-Rē, the Son of Rē, Amun-hotpe, given life forever." Fragments of at least forty uninscribed *jars and several provision *boxes shaped like trussed ducks are of alabaster and include a piece adorned with engraved lotus flowers the calices of which are inlaid in faience.

Much of this interesting and historically important material came to the Museum as a gift of Lord Carnarvon in 1921. The rest was acquired with the Carnarvon collection in 1926.



Among the objects obtained with the Carnarvon collection is a small royal head in gray basalt (fig. 64) which was once identified as a portrait of Amun-hotpe I and represented as having come from his tomb. Aside from the fact that sculptures in stone do not normally form part of royal tomb equipment of this period, there seems to be no compelling reason to associate this head with Amun-hotpe I, its type and style pointing, rather, to a date late in the reign of Thut-mose III (see p. 123).

The Murch collection includes, on the other hand, the ★head of a large alabaster statuette

FIGURE 23. Head of a sandstone Osiride statue of King Amun-hotpe I from Deir el Bahri. H. 8 in.

of a king datable by its style and the form of its headdress and uraeus to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, with the strong probability that the pharaoh represented is Amun-hotpe I. The headdress, only the front of which is preserved, was either a plain *nemes* (see Part I, p. 71) or, more probably, the *khat* (see p. 97), with a curious double line marking the top of the forehead band. On his chin the king wore the usual artificial beard, supported by straps running up the sides of



FIGURE 24. Limestone stela of the cult servant Ken-Amun, from Thebes. H. 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

his face. From the crown of the headdress to the point, just below the top of the beard, where it was broken away from the statuette, the head measures two and a quarter inches. Its provenience, unfortunately, is not recorded.

Part of what was probably a ★cartouche-shaped dish in glazed steatite has a brief titulary of Amun-ḥotpe I engraved down the center of its interior. Preserved are the words "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Djoser-ku-Rēʿ, the Son of Rēʿ, Amun-ḥotpe." To judge from the existing fragment the dish, when complete, was seven to eight inches long and three to four inches wide. Its provenience is unknown, but its style suggests that it was carved during the reign of Amun-ḥotpe I himself.

Twelve ★scarabs, three steatite ★plaques, and a cylinder ★seal carry the king's praenomen, "Djoser-ku-Rēʿ," either alone or, more often, in company with figures and motifs of varied types. On one scarab of blue faience the pharaoh himself appears as a small standing figure wearing the *kheperesh*-helmet, or Blue Crown (see figs. 80, 186, 216), and holding in his extended hand what looks like a miniature obelisk. On two others he is represented as a crouching sphinx and his name is preceded by the title "Lord of the Two Lands" and followed by the phrase "given life." The cartouche containing the royal name is sometimes surmounted by the sun's disk and double plume, the winged disk, or the vulture with outspread wings, and is occasionally flanked by figures of divinities. A green paste scarab shows Amun-ḥotpe I's name and titles surrounded by an interlocking-spiral border of Middle Kingdom type; and on a fine big scarab of green jasper the hieroglyphic legend has been expanded to read: "The Good God, Djoser-ku-Rēʿ, the Son of Rēʿ, Amun-ḥotpe." A glazed steatite ★scarab on which a cartouche with the personal name "Amun-ḥotpe" is embraced by the arms of the *ku*-sign (𓂀; see Part I, p. 79) and surmounts the two little pavilions associated with the *heb-sed*, or jubilee festival (see Part I, pp. 126 f.), may possibly refer to one of the later Amun-ḥotpes, though its style

suggests a date early in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The same is true of a large cylindrical ★bead of glazed steatite and a faience necklace ★pendant on which the royal cartouche is painted in black.

After a reign of approximately twenty-one years Amun-ḥotpe I died, apparently before he had reached the age of fifty. His badly damaged mummy, twice rewrapped in the Twenty-First Dynasty, was found with that of his father in the Royal Cache at Deir el Baḥrī. Encased in what may be one of the king's original set of anthropoid coffins, the mummy has not been unwrapped, but in 1932 was examined and photographed by X-ray.

The Priest of Amūn, Amun-em-ḥēb, on whose funerary ★cones the throne name "Djoser-ku-Rēʿ" appears, curiously preceded by the title "Son of Rēʿ," was apparently a contemporary of Amun-ḥotpe I; but the rest of the private monuments in our collection which refer to the deified pharaoh by name were made after his death. The earliest of these monuments, a limestone ★stela datable to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty (fig. 24), shows the cult servant ẖen-Amūn presenting offerings to two deceased and deified pharaohs, Amun-ḥotpe I and, enthroned beside him, King Se'n-Wosret I of the Twelfth Dynasty. Both kings hold the crook scepter and the symbol of "life" and wear on their heads the royal *nemes* which, in the case of Amun-ḥotpe I, is surmounted by an elaborate version of the Osirian *atef*-crown (𓄎). Above, in the lunette, a sun's disk with a single, down-sweeping wing hovers protectively over the two "gods," while, on the right, the lone mortal is protected from above by the amuletic *wedjat*-eye. The principal text on the stela is an offering formula recited by ẖen-Amūn and invoking Amun Rēʿ, King of the Gods, in behalf of the "ku of the Good God, Djoser-ku-Rēʿ, justified [with Osiris]." To the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty belongs the ★stela (fig. 94) of a certain Amun-ḥotpe who, among many other priestly functions, performed that of *ku*-servant, or mortuary priest, of the "Good God, Djoser-ku-Rēʿ." During the late Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty a Theban

named Pe'n-Amūn had himself represented on a small limestone ★stela (see p. 384) kneeling in adoration before Osiris and before the "Lord of the Two Lands, Djeser-ku-Rē", who is represented standing behind his mummiform fellow deity and clad in the elaborate costume of a pharaoh of the late New Kingdom. The stela, donated to the Museum by Theodore M. Davis, was found by him in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, where the cult of Amun-hotpe I was particularly strong. On a Theban ★stela (see p. 384) of the Twentieth Dynasty belonging to a treasury official named Pa-nakht-(em-)Opet, King "Djeser-ku-Rē Amun-hotpe, the Heart's Heart (i.e., Image ?) of Amūn," is invoked in the principal offering formula together with the great gods Rē, Ptah Sokar, and Osiris.

One of the latest and in many respects the most interesting object in our collection on which the figure and names of Amun-hotpe I appear is a painted wooden ★pectoral apparently made in the late Twentieth Dynasty and used in the reburial of an infant boy named Amun-em-hēt who seems to have been a son of our early Eighteenth Dynasty pharaoh. The ★mummy of the year-old baby, wrapped in Twentieth Dynasty ★linen and enclosed in a reinscribed child's ★coffin of the same period, was found by our Egyptian Expedition during the winter of 1918-1919 high up in a bay of the towering cliffs south of Deir el Bahri. The pectoral, found tied with a cord to the breast of the small mummy, is carved with an openwork design in which we see the "Lord of the Two Lands, Djeser-ku-Rē, the Lord of Crowns, Amun-hotpe" standing and grasping by their topknots two enemy chieftains, a bearded Asiatic and a swarthy, kinky-haired African (fig. 268; see also p. 420). Curiously enough the inscription on the coffin lid, as hastily rewritten by a Twentieth Dynasty scribe, calls the royal occupant of the coffin the "King, the Lord of the Two Lands, Amun-em-hēt"; and, though this can be attributed to a scribal error, there is a possibility that this child may actually have been designated by his father as Egypt's future king and may even have

served for a few fleeting months as his father's nominal coregent.

Near the spot where his small coffin was discovered there is a rock-cut shaft and chamber, in and around which was found a great quantity of ★meat and ★fowl offerings, coming in all probability from the original burial of the royal infant and belonging, therefore, to the reign of Amun-hotpe I. Among the seventy-six items retained by the Museum there are joints, steaks, and briskets of beef, as well as beef hearts and livers and whole dressed fowls, the latter including geese, ducks, and quail. Each is carefully mummified and wrapped in linen bandages and many are still in their white-stuccoed wooden cases. These are carved in two halves in the forms of the trussed fowls or cuts of meat which they were designed to contain, the lids and boxes of the cases having been held together by pegs, by crisscrossed linen bandages, and by a black, resinous substance with which their interiors and rims were coated.

The existence of a child king who died prematurely would explain the otherwise puzzling title of King's Mother borne by Amun-hotpe I's sister and principal queen, Aḥ-hotpe, the daughter of Aḥ-mose I and Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry. Usually called Aḥ-hotpe II to distinguish her from her similarly named grandmother, this lady was not the mother of Thut-mose I, her husband's successor, nor, so far as I can discover, of any hitherto identified person who could reasonably be called a king.

The queen herself is known to us from any quantity of monuments, including her enormous anthropoid coffin in the Cairo Museum, which is similar in size and style to that of her mother, Queen Aḥ-mose Nefret-iry, and to that of her sister(?), Queen Aḥ-mose Meryet-Amūn. In our collection her name, accompanied by the title "King's Wife," occurs on a fragmentary faience *menyet* counterpoise from Deir el Bahri, on a big spheroid ★cap from a *menyet* necklace (followed here by the epithet "beloved of Ḥat-Ḥor"), on a large ball ★bead of glazed steatite, and on a steatite ★plaque, the back of which is carved in

the form of a fly. Preceded by the title "King's Mother," Aḥ-hotpe II's cartouche appears also in the lunette of a painted limestone tomb [★]stela from western Thebes belonging to the "Herald of the King's Mother, 'Amotju," who calls himself a "Real and Beloved Familiar of the King." The stela, probably made during Aḥ-hotpe's lifetime, shows her herald seated on a lion-legged chair, attended by "his beloved son, Renef-sonbe," "his wife, the House Mistress Aḥ-mosē," and "his beloved daughter, Ren(?) -nefer." The four-line offering formula below calls upon the composite deity Ptaḥ Sokar Osiris to provide 'Amotju's spirit with "bread, beer, beef, fowl, and all things good and pure on which a god lives, that which heaven gives and that which the earth creates, at the month feast, the half-month feast, the *wag*-feast, and at all feasts of eternity." Wholly typical of run of the mill private tomb sculpture of its period, the stela shows clearly the superposition on good Middle Kingdom models of habits and mannerisms developed in the provincial ateliers of Thebes during the interval of foreign domination.

Queen Aḥ-mosē Meryet-Amūn, who, like Aḥ-hotpe, bore the title King's Great (or Chief) Wife, appears also to have been a sister and wife of Amun-hotpe I. On two [★]scarabs and a green jasper ball [★]bead in our collection she is referred to, as frequently elsewhere, simply as "Meryet-Amūn," the name in one case preceded by the titles "King's Daughter" and "King's Wife." Though not so reported at the time, it is almost certainly her tomb which the Museum's Egyptian Expedition discovered during the winter of 1929-1930 beside and partially under Ḥat-shepsūt's temple at Deir el Bahri. The tomb, which bears a very striking resemblance to that of Amun-hotpe I, had been plundered during the New Kingdom, but in the Twenty-First Dynasty the mummy of the queen had been rewrapped and restored to her coffins, and much of the equipment which formed part of the original burial was found more

FIGURE 25. Baskets and duck case of Queen Aḥ-mosē Meryet-Amūn, from her tomb at Thebes. H. of largest basket 18 in.



or less intact. Of this equipment the Museum received in the division of finds with the Egyptian Government a fine linen ★sheet from the original mummy wrappings, ingeniously woven in the shape of a human being, a linen ★label from an oil jar, a small, decorated ★basket containing ★braids of human hair, three large, undecorated ★baskets, a circular basketry ★tray, a wooden ★case in the form of a dressed duck, and twenty-six cuts of ★meat wrapped in linen bandages. The linen jar label is inscribed in hieratic with the words “Resinous oil, 5 *hin*-measures.” (The *hin* was approximately equal to one pint.) The small basket and its lid are made of spiral coils of grass wrapped with grass and are decorated with black and red triangles (see fig. 25). The basketry tray is also of grass, but the larger baskets are entirely of palm-leaf strip. The lids of all the baskets were held in place by loops of two-ply linen cord rising from the rims of the baskets proper and tied together over the centers of the lids, the ties being further secured by stamped mud sealings. The duck case is of sycamore wood, covered with white stucco inside and out, and then with black pitch inside. The meat offerings comprise a shoulder of beef, three beef hearts, twenty-one cutlets or steaks, and the leg of a large duck. Evidence for the existence during the New Kingdom of a cult of this queen includes the funerary ★cones of a man named Meḥ who was “Second Prophet of (the goddess) Amūnet” and “First Prophet of (Queen) Meryet-Amūn.”

A third, and evidently much younger, sister of Amun-hotpe I was known to her contemporaries simply as the “King’s Sister, Aḥ-mosē,” without an accompanying epithet. There is no definite record of her parentage, but she seems to have been a daughter of Queen Aḥ-mosē Nefret-iry and probably of King Aḥ-mosē I. Upon her brother’s death—her elder sisters and younger brother, Amun-em-hēt, being presumably already dead—she was the only surviving legitimate heir to the throne. Some time previously, however, she had been married to another of Amun-hotpe I’s younger contemporaries, a middle-aged soldier

named Thut-mosē, whose mother, Seni-sonbe, was neither a king’s wife nor a king’s daughter; and it was he who in 1526 B.C. acceded to the throne as King ‘A-kheper-ku-Rē’ Thut-mosē I. Thut-mosē himself may have belonged to a collateral branch of the royal line or may have been descended from an earlier family of Theban kings. He may also have received his appointment to the kingship from Amun-hotpe I in person. These possibilities, however, do not alter the fact that the legitimacy of his claim to the throne depended almost entirely upon his marriage to the Princess Aḥ-mosē, a circumstance which, as we shall see, produced a certain amount of friction among his first three successors of the so-called Thutmoside line.

One of the royal ladies of the early Eighteenth Dynasty—probably one of those whom we have just been discussing—is represented in our collection by the upper part of a large seated ★statuette admirably carved in indurated limestone, or, as it is sometimes called, Egyptian marble (fig. 26). The face, unfortunately somewhat battered, is characteristically Theban, the slanting eyes, high cheekbones, and full, slightly protruding lips calling to mind the royal portrait heads of the Twelfth Dynasty (see Part I, pp. 175f., 198ff.). More powerfully and more carefully modeled than the rest of the statuette, it catches the eye immediately, standing out with great clarity above the slender, cursorily handled figure and from the heavy frame of the elaborate headdress. The latter consists of a massive wig, over the top and front of which is worn a coif in the form of the skin and wings of the vulture of the goddess Nekhābet of el Kāb, one of the most ancient emblems of Egyptian royalty. Worn by queens of Egypt since as early as the Fourth Dynasty, this headdress frequently replaces the head of the vulture with that of the equally ancient royal emblem, the cobra, or uraeus. This was apparently the case here, though, as can be seen, the ornament over the brow of our queen or

FIGURE 26. A queen or princess of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Upper part of a statuette of indurated limestone. H. 11 in.



princess has been almost completely broken away. Exceptionally graceful in its general form, the present headdress shows the most meticulous detail in the treatment of the feathers of the bird's wings and body. The same detail may also be seen in the handling of the individual wavy locks of the wig and in the beads of the broad collar which appears at the lady's throat between the traps of her simple, close-fitting dress. The way in which the back of the figure is entirely broken away suggests that it was once attached to a wide back pilaster, perhaps as one of a group of two or more figures.

3. Officials and Other Prominent Citizens of the Time

The suppression of the power of the hereditary nobility in the late Twelfth Dynasty and the virtual disappearance at that time of the feudal conditions which had characterized the Old and Middle Kingdoms led, with the return of Egyptian autonomy in the early New Kingdom, to the growth of a new state and a new society, both completely dominated by the king and, under him, by a vast hierarchy of crown officials whose primary function was to see that the pharaonic will was carried out to the last detail. Among these officials must be included not only the members of the administrative branches of the government—the civil service, strictly speaking—but also the military officials and officers in command of Egypt's now highly organized army and navy, the priesthoods of her great temples, especially those of the state god, Amūn, the overseers in charge of her thousands of craftsmen and laborers, and the stewards responsible for the management of the huge personal estates of the king and his family.

Much of our knowledge of these civil servants, soldiers, churchmen, and master artisans and of the world in which they lived comes from the painted or carved decoration of their tomb chapels, especially from those hewn in the slopes of the desert hills to the west of the capital city of Thebes.

Here the typical private tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty consists of a rectangular courtyard and T-shaped chapel, rock-cut in the side of a hill and containing, at the rear of the chapel or in a corner of the court, a hidden shaft descending to one or more subterranean burial chambers. The pyramidal superstructure, abandoned by the kings, had been taken over by private individuals, and a small pyramid of whitewashed brick with a capping of limestone appears to have been a regular feature of the New Kingdom tomb chapel. Pottery cones, stamped on the base with the name and titles of the tomb owner and embedded point first in the masonry, were frequently used to form friezes across the top of the chapel façade and around the upper part of the pyramid (see p. 34). The painted or sculptured decoration of the chapels was distributed on their walls according to a more or less set plan, the transverse forehall being given over to scenes taken from the daily life of the tomb owner, the longitudinal passage and the sanctuary to subject matter of an almost exclusively funerary nature. Painted scenes from the Theban tomb chapels may be studied in three hundred facsimile color [★]copies prepared for the Museum by Nina and Norman de Garis Davies, Charles K. Wilkinson, H. R. Hopgood, and others; and many scenes may be consulted in line drawings by the same artists and in the admirable photographs of Harry Burton.

In the New Kingdom, to perhaps an even greater extent than in the preceding periods, the co-ordinator and mainspring of the pharaoh's government was his vizier, an exceedingly busy official who seems to have exerted at least supervisory control over every branch of the national administration. Under King Thut-mose III the duties of the vizier were divided on a geographical basis between two great functionaries, a Vizier of the South and a Vizier of the North; but during the first five reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty a single Vizier managed the affairs of both Upper and Lower Egypt.

One of the earliest of the Eighteenth Dynasty viziers, the "Overseer of the City, the Vizier Yuy,"

is known to us almost entirely from monuments in the Metropolitan Museum. These include a glazed steatite ★scarab formerly in the Murch collection and a number of objects from Yuy's tomb in western Thebes, which was discovered and cleared by our Egyptian Expedition during the winter of 1922-1923. Among the latter are the bent left ★arm, the ★feet, and one of the ★eye inlays of what must have been a magnificent life-size statue carved of hardwood. It is evident from what remains that this was a standing figure holding in its clenched left hand a long walking stick. The big wooden ★statuette of figure 27, though lacking its face and feet, is also an admirable piece of early New Kingdom sculpture. In it we see the shaven head, corpulent body, and distinctive robe of office of the elderly Vizier rendered with the restrained realism which characterizes the private portrait statues of this period. Less restraint in the treatment of the creased and sagging torso appears in a similar, but much smaller, ★statuette of limestone. Headless, this statuette still retains on its back pilaster traces of a cursive hieroglyphic inscription written in black ink. Near the entrance to Yuy's tomb were found two attractive little pottery ★vases (fig. 28), one in the form of a goose, the other made up of two pitcherlike small jars jointed together and fitted with a single loop handle. Both are of red pottery covered with a glossy black slip and both are adorned with incised and white-filled decoration, that of the double vase comprising conventionalized palm trees and a band of continuous, interlocking spirals. Also found in the tomb were a small painted wooden ★figure of a pig(?) and fragments of three coffins, including a gilded anthropoid case of late *rishi* type, inscribed with Yuy's name and titles. Elsewhere the Vizier Yuy is named as the maternal uncle of a certain Khonsu, the owner of a sandstone stela of Eighteenth Dynasty style in Vienna.

A prominent Theban of the time of the pharaoh Aḥ-mose I was the King's Son, the Mayor of the Southern City (Thebes), Tety-ky, whose interesting decorated tomb on the southern slope of the Dirāʿ Abu'n Naga was discovered in 1908 by the Earl of Carnarvon. Among other antiquities a considerable number of model coffins containing



FIGURE 27. The Vizier Yuy, a large wooden statuette from his tomb at Thebes. H. (feet restored) 35 in.

crude wooden *shawabty*-figures were found, deposited in five small niches in the west wall of the courtyard of the tomb. This class of *shawabty*, which apparently originated during the Seventeenth Dynasty (see p. 34), continued in use well down into the early decades of the New Kingdom. Nine of the eleven ★figures and six of the nine ★coffins from the tomb of Tety-ky in our collection are inscribed in hieratic with the names of their owners—Tety (four examples), Tety-ʿan, Tety-nefer, Pa-nefer, Aḥ-mosē, Teyu, and Nena, daughter of Pa-rekhty—in five cases incorporated in offering formulae invoking the gods Osiris or Sokar. The two remaining figures, one of which is enclosed within a miniature coffin of Nile mud, are uninscribed. An altogether similar ★*shawabty*, lying in a small rectangular coffin of sycamore wood, is of unknown provenience. The figure bears the *shawabty*-spell written in eight horizontal lines and the underside of the lid of the little coffin is inscribed in cursive hieroglyphs for the Sculptor Nefer-ḥēbef.

FIGURE 28. Small pottery vases from the tomb of the Vizier Yuy. H. 3 ½ and 3 in.

The large and handsome ★*shawabty*-figure shown in figure 29 was found in a bay of the Theban cliffs, near the burial of the child king Amun-em-ḥēt who, as we have seen, is believed to have been a son of Amun-hotpe I. It is of early Eighteenth Dynasty type and is inscribed for the Chief Steward and Scribe Sen-yu, a man who may well have been charged with the management of the estates of the royal infant. The figure is carved of steatite and is coated with a fine greenish blue glaze, the wig being painted black over the glaze. The text, engraved in seven horizontal lines around the lower part of the figure, is the usual *shawabty*-spell (Chapter VI of the Book of the Dead) and differs in no essential respect from the late Middle Kingdom versions of the same spell mentioned in the first volume of this book (p. 350). It is recited by Sen-yu himself, who addresses his small mummy-form double, saying: “O you *shawabty*, if the Scribe Sen-yu is registered for work which is to be done in the necropolis, as a man under obligation, to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the banks, to transport sand of the east and of the west—‘Here am I!’ you shall say.”

Ineni, an official whose long and eventful



career began under Amun-hotpe I and lasted well into the reign of Thut-mose III, is best remembered as an architect and builder. His principal function, however, seems to have been the administration of the vast grain supplies assigned to the god Amun, and on the stamped pottery *cones from his Sheikh Abd el Kurneh tomb he calls himself the "Mayor, the Overseer of the Two Granaries of Amun, the Scribe Ineni." "The Inspector of Scribes Ineni," known to us from eight similar *cones, was possibly, though not certainly, the same man.

Among a number of other early Eighteenth Dynasty dignitaries represented in our collection by funerary cones from their tombs at Thebes, we have already had occasion to refer to the First Prophet of Amun and Overseer of Treasurers Thuty, who held his high office under King Ahotpe I, and the *Wetb*-priest (see Part I, pp. 76, 102) of Amun, Amun-em-heb, an evidently well-to-do churchman of the reign of Amun-hotpe I. Nine other *cones of the period, seven of which are from known Theban tomb chapels, introduce us to the King's Scribe and Treasury Overseer Thut-nofre; the Steward of the King's Mother, Ahotpe, called Pe'n-yaty; the (Royal) Page Pa-hik-men, called Benia; the Overseer of the Two Granaries in the Southern City, Hery-iry; and the Overseer of Waterfowl Runs (?) Tjay. Their owners' names suggest that the *cones of the (Royal) Page Ka-mose, and the *Wetb*-priest of Amun, Si-pe-ir, are also to be assigned to the early part of the dynasty.

4. Products of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty Ateliers

Unlike those discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, the works of art and craftsmanship to which we now direct our attention were not associated with members of Egypt's royal family or with her great officials, but with ordinary and for the most part untitled citizens of Thebes and other communities. The beauty and technical excellence of many of these works show that the country's rapidly growing prosperity and the accompanying rise in her standards of taste were

FIGURE 29. Glazed steatite *shawabty* of the Chief Steward Sen-yu. H. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.





no longer confined to certain privileged classes, but were shared to a great extent by her people as a whole. They are, moreover, eloquent testimonials to the availability even at this early stage in the development of the New Kingdom of large numbers of highly trained artists and artisans, already vying with one another in skill and imagination to meet the demands of an ever more numerous and more sophisticated clientele.

It must, for example, have been a sculptor of considerable ability who produced the charming and sensitive ★statuette of a nude youth shown in figure 30. The figure, that of a young Theban named Amun-em-ḥēb, was found, together with a statuette of the boy's elder brother Ḥu-webenef, in the coffin of their mother, Aḥ-hotpe, who was called Ta-nedjem(et), "the Sweet," and who evidently lived and died during the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Both statuettes, we learn from the inscriptions on their somewhat crude wooden bases, were dedicated by the boys' father, Thūty. The offering formulae which precede the dedications and which in both cases invoke the god Osiris are of the usual funerary type, a fact which suggests that the figures were designed or at least inscribed as tomb statuettes. It seems clear that we have stumbled upon an ancient family tragedy involving the premature deaths of two youths much beloved of their parents.

The figure of Amun-em-ḥēb, just over five inches in height, was solid cast in a metal which appears to be an alloy of silver and copper, only the lotus bud held in the boy's left hand being of pure silver. Following the casting the figure was carefully worked over with a tool, evidently after the metal had thoroughly chilled. Except for the highly individualistic face and head, which are executed in considerable detail, the statuette exhibits an adept and obviously studied simplification of the slender, boyish form which would do credit to our best modern practitioners of this

same type of graceful plastic understatement. It is certainly one of the masterworks of its period, if not of Egyptian art as a whole.

The much larger ★statuette of Amun-em-ḥēb's brother, Ḥu-webenef (fig. 30, right), though "wooden" in more senses than one, is not without a certain rigid charm. The close-cropped head and youthful face are carved with subtle delicacy and the enormously elongated figure, in spite of its stiff and wholly conventional pose, has both dignity and grace. Since he wears the formal *shendyet*-kilt, in this case interestingly adorned with vertical bands of pleats, Ḥu-webenef had, technically at least, achieved man's estate and was therefore distinctly older than his brother to whom in other respects he bears a close resemblance. Though carved in a handsome, fine-grained wood, Ḥu-webenef's figure was once painted—the flesh red, the hair, eyes, and eyebrows black, and the corneas of the eyes white.

In the attractive limestone ★statuette of figure 31 we meet an early Eighteenth Dynasty lady named Ta-weret, who stands before us clad in a full, braided wig and long simple dress, holding in her left hand the stem of what was probably a large flower. Again we find the sculptor treating the figure proper in somewhat cursory fashion and concentrating his attention on the elaborate head-dress and on the pleasant, typically Theban face with its large, wide-set eyes, straight nose, and fine, slightly smiling mouth. At the back of the figure a rectangular pilaster is inscribed with an offering formula in which Osiris is called upon to "give everything good and pure to the spirit of Ta-wer[et]"; and on the right side of the base there is a second inscription which tells us that "it is her daughter, Henwetiroy, who causes her name to live." The rims and irises of Ta-weret's eyes are painted black and patches of black paint still remain on her wig. The statuette is from the Ḥasāsif valley in western Thebes, having been found there in 1912 by the Earl of Carnarvon.

From a plundered tomb of the very early Eighteenth Dynasty in the same neighborhood, cleared by the Museum's Expedition in 1916, comes an

FIGURE 30. The brothers Amun-em-ḥēb and Ḥu-webenef. Silver-copper alloy and wood. H. 5 1/8 and 12 1/4 in.

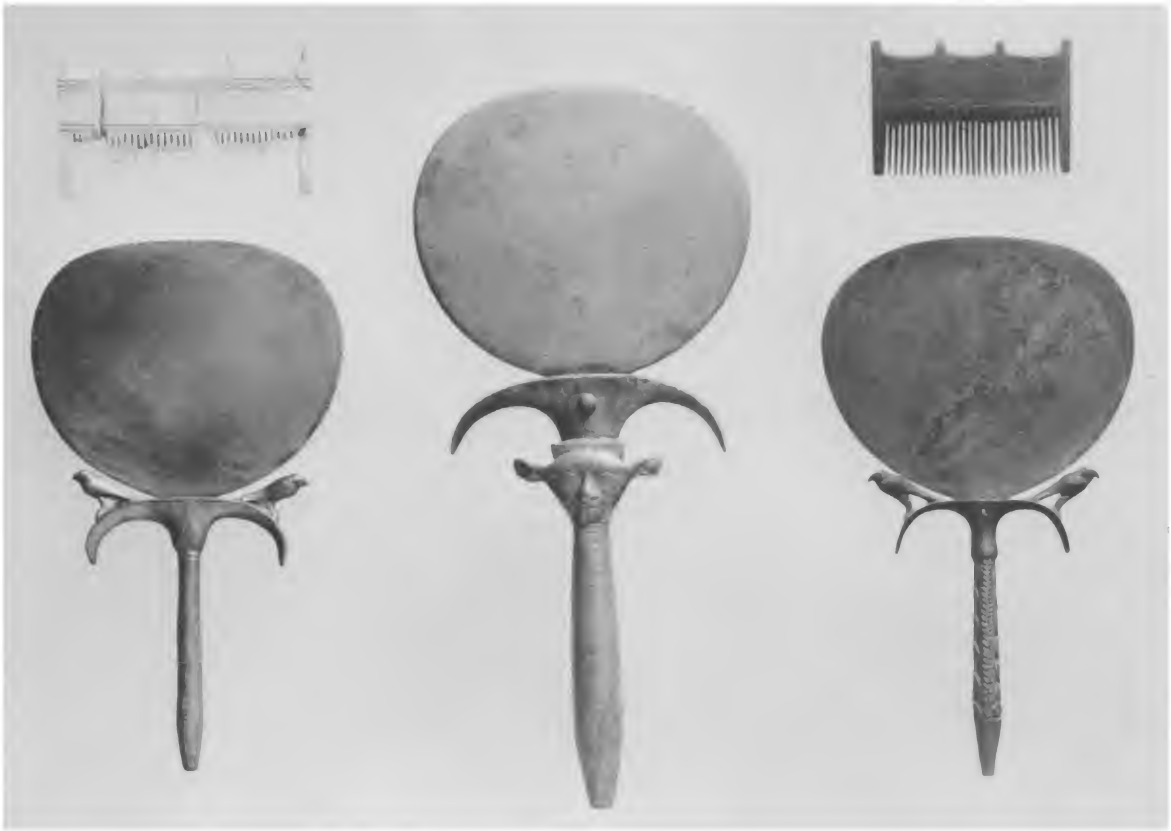
uninscribed and much battered wooden ★statuette almost nine and a half inches in height, representing a man kneeling on both knees. The head is broken away and the arms, which were made separately and tenoned in place, are also missing. Its wasp waist and full hips give the figure a curious hourglass shape which appears to be a carry-over from the mannered provincial art of the Second Intermediate period. The short kilt is of unusual form, divided down the front and with the left half painted red.



FIGURE 31.
The Lady Ta-weret,
a limestone statuette
from western Thebes.
H. 7 in.

A shrine in the same cemetery yielded a number of votive offerings including a miniature ★stela of blue-glazed steatite inscribed for a woman named Aḥ-mose and her husband, whose name, confusingly enough, was also Aḥ-mose. Like its larger counterparts the crude little monument carries in its lunette a pair of *wedjat*-eyes flanking a Q-sign. Below these symbols we see the two Aḥ-moses, female and male, seated on chairs and holding lotus flowers to their noses; and, at the bottom, a four-line inscription which reads: "An offering which the King gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that he may give invocation (consisting of) bread and beer, beef and fowl to the spirit of Aḥ-mose. It is Ky-ky who causes (her?) name to live." A similar stela from the same shrine is now in the Cairo Museum.

Jewelry datable to the first two reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty was found in some profusion on the persons or in the burials of the Theban men and women buried at the foot of the Ḥāsāf. ★Necklaces, ★girdles, and ★bracelets predominate. These are made up for the most part of long strings of small disk and ball beads often supporting groups of little amulets—*wedjat*-eyes, flies, bullae, scarabs, cowroids, heart amulets, tooth amulets, palmettes, and drop-shaped pendants. In a series of well-to-do burials cleared by the Earl of Carnarvon the beads and amulets are of gold, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and shell, while those recovered by our own expedition from the burials of persons of more modest means are chiefly of paste, faience, and glazed steatite. Among the latter is a necklace of large blue faience lenticular beads, a type rarely found before the rise of the New Kingdom, but exceedingly common thereafter, especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty. Isolated elements include three colored glass ★cowroids, handsomely set in gold swivel mounts with beaded edges, and two very large blue faience ball ★beads decorated with black segments. A pair of bronze ★rings, perhaps earrings, consist simply of lengths of heavy bronze wire bent to form loops three-quarters of an inch in diameter, with the tapered ends of the wires overlapping.



Four ★combs, one of hardwood, perfectly preserved (see fig. 32), and three fragmentary examples in ivory are of the same rectangular, short-toothed type found on slightly earlier burials of the Seventeenth Dynasty (see p. 21). Their handles are decorated on both sides with groups of incised parallel lines, and four spurs rising from their otherwise straight backs provide a better grip for their users' fingers. Two long, straight ★hairpins of ebony are from early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs near the pyramid of King Tety of the Sixth Dynasty, at Saqqāreh. Both are adorned with incised line decoration and the top of one is skillfully carved in the form of the hooded head and neck of a uraeus serpent.

Also from the "Tety Pyramid Cemeteries" is a small bronze ★mirror, its slender papyriform handle—in this case of copper—surmounted by two little figures of falcons (see fig. 32). In a similar, but more elaborate, ★mirror from Lord Carnar-

FIGURE 32. Mirrors of bronze and copper and combs of hardwood and ivory. Early Eighteenth Dynasty. H. of large mirror $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

von's work in western Thebes the shaft of the handle is ornamented with zigzag and cord patterns in relief. Egyptian mirror disks, as we have seen, are never true circles, and the two present examples show, in addition to a very pronounced flattening of the top of the disk, a tendency to taper the lower part in toward the handle, rather like the lower half of a palm-leaf fan. The large ★mirror of figure 32 is made up of two very heavy bronze castings. Its handle is of composite form, the papyrus column being interrupted just below the spreading umbel by a Ḥat-Ḥor head with projecting bovine ears. In every case the tang of the mirror disk is fastened in place by a single bronze rivet passing through the top of the handle.



FIGURE 33. Two “shaving sets” from Theban burials of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. L. of leather case $9\frac{7}{8}$ in.

The smallest and simplest of our four early Eighteenth Dynasty ★mirrors belongs to a set of “dressing-table” accessories (fig. 33, left) which includes also a bronze knife-shaped ★razor, a pair of bronze ★tweezers, a small quartzite ★whetstone, or slipstone, and a wood and ivory ★kohl-tube. The set, from a Theban burial of the reign of Amun-hotpe I, came to the Museum in 1926 as part of the Carnarvon collection. The razor, which resembles a modern surgical instrument, has, besides its principal, straight cutting edge, a convex, chisel-like edge at the lower end of the handle. Of this razor Howard Carter has said, “The preservation is so good that the knife edges are still keen, and the prints of the ancient finger-marks are still visible upon its polished surfaces.”¹ The bronze tweezers, to judge from the curved ends, were designed expressly for extracting superfluous hair. Nicely carved in a fine, dark brown wood resembling cedar, the octagonal kohl-tube is provided with an ivory base plate and an ivory lid swiveling open and shut on a single hardwood peg. The lid is locked by means of a vertical — bolt sliding in copper staples on one side of the tube. On an-

other side a pair of similar staples holds the ebony kohl-stick with which the black cosmetic contained in the tube was applied to its owner’s eyes.

Another set of the same general date and provenience comprises two bronze ★razors, two pairs of bronze ★tweezers provided with wooden formers on which they were kept when not in use, a bronze ★hair curler (or tweezer razor?), and a small triangular ★hone, or whetstone, of quartzite (fig. 33, right). One of the razors and one pair of tweezers, the latter in position on its wooden former, were found lashed together with a strip of leather, and the whole set was contained in an oblong leather ★case. A pair of ★tweezers with incurved ends, a ★hair curler, and a tubular ★object of undetermined use, all of bronze, come from a Theban tomb chamber where they were found, together with a small bronze ointment ★spoon, in the metal cup shown in figure 34. The tweezers had been clipped around a former of hardwood, but of this only a fragment was preserved. A bronze ★razor, altogether similar to our Theban examples, is from a tomb discovered by the Egypt Exploration Fund at Abydos. Also from Abydos are three small, pointed ★hones of the kind usually found with shaving sets.

Like its Seventeenth Dynasty predecessor discussed above on page 21, a large wooden cosmetic ★spoon has a bowl in the form of a bivalve shell held by a human hand, and a long, slender shaft ending in a duck’s head curved down to form a

[1] Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years’ Explorations at Thebes*, p. 72.

hook. The spoon, acquired by purchase in 1926, is from a tomb of the early Eighteenth Dynasty at Sakḫāreh. A circular ivory cosmetic ★dish is provided with a swivel lid decorated with a geometric flower-petal design surrounded by an incised zig-zag border. Two knobs, one on the lid (now missing) and one on the side of the container, could be lashed together with cord and the dish thereby fastened securely shut. Though of well-known type the dish is noteworthy both for the high quality of its workmanship and for its almost perfect state of preservation. It comes from a tomb of the early Eighteenth Dynasty near the foot of the 'Asāsif valley in western Thebes.

Two oval rush, or Ḥalfa-grass, ★baskets, fourteen and eighteen inches in length, are of the usual sewn coil type. Both are provided with convex lids and on the larger one colored strands have been inserted into the stitching at intervals to form triangular markings. In this basket were found a much smaller, circular ★basket and lid together with one of the combs and shaving sets already discussed and the green jasper scarab with the names of King Amun-hotpe I (see p. 51). All are

from a great Theban tomb ("Tomb 37") discovered by Carnarvon and Carter in 1911.

A remarkable series of metal vessels recovered by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition from a near-by tomb includes a shallow, one-handled bronze ★cup, a wide bronze ★basin with two flat loop handles, and a bronze and copper ★situla, or bucket, found with the basin (fig. 34). The cup and the basin were beaten to shape from single, thin sheets of bronze and the surfaces of the latter were given a mat finish, apparently by being dipped in a solution containing both acid and salts. On the inside the basin has a convex circular boss at its center, and at one point a reef has been taken in its rim, the overlapping folds of metal being fastened with a rivet. The handles of both vessels are riveted in place. The hammered copper lower half of the situla was joined by a row of rivets to its overlapping bronze upper part, which was then given a thorough burnishing, the process

FIGURE 34. Bronze and copper vessels from a Theban tomb of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Diam. of basin 17 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.



rendering the flattened ends of the rivets all but invisible. The rim of the vessel was rolled to shape over a heavy bronze ring and the two suspension rings for the missing bucket handle were fastened in place by two rivets each. These types of metal vessels, especially the cup and the situla, remained popular into Late Dynastic times, though variations on the basic shapes are numerous and often marked. The situla and basin, evidently a set, were found empty; but the cup had been pressed into service as the container of a quantity of small items of tomb equipment including some of the bronze instruments mentioned above and a little cylindrical cosmetic ★vase carved in hardwood and just over three inches in height.

Fourteen other cosmetic and ointment ★jars from the same group of early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb chambers are for the most part of alabaster (calcite), but there are two of serpentine, one of yellow limestone, and three of pottery decorated with simple linear designs. The types, a selection of which is given in figure 35, are wholly characteristic of their period and recur again and again throughout the greater part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Most common are the heavy drop-shaped jar with flaring neck and lip, the squat cordiform or carinated vase with a small foot and a high, cylindrical neck, and the flat-bottomed beaker with flaring rim and foot, which is the New Kingdom version of the cylindrical oil jar of hoary antiquity. A broad, carinated jar of yellow limestone with a cord molding around the base of the neck and a squat little jar of alabaster with a very wide, flat base and rim provide us with interesting variations of known shapes. Two alabaster *kohl*-pots and a third example in serpentine are of the traditional type (cf. fig. 8), as are also two wooden *kohl*-sticks found in association with the little jars.

Four inscribed pottery ★jars including a drop-shaped vase, a small situla, and two squat little vases, are also well-known early Eighteenth Dynasty types and the hieratic texts inscribed on them may be dated by their handwritings, orthography, and phraseology to the same general period. The three small jars come from the cham-

ber and courtyard of a tomb in western Thebes. The provenience of the larger jar is not recorded, but it too may well be of Theban origin. The texts in all four cases are brief letters, those on the small jars being scarcely more than repetitions of standard formulae of greeting addressed to a man named Amun-mosē (the deceased tomb owner?) by his friends Neb-em-seni and Si-Amūn. The best preserved of these rather dull little texts—the one written around the shoulder of the neckless cordiform jar—is typical: “Neb-em-seni says ‘Hail to you! Hail to you! I greet Amun-mosē. Further: Hail to you! Hail to you!’ ” The letter on the tall, drop-shaped jar, which probably referred to its contents, is of a more practical nature and of somewhat greater interest: “Senu speaks to Amun-hotpe, saying ‘I have caused to be brought to you good lapis lazuli, 20 *deben*, lapis lazuli of Libya(?), 40 *deben*, malachite, 10 *deben*; total, 70 *deben*; (also) galena, 4 *deben*, good black pigment, 10 (*deben*?).’ ” Since the *deben* was a unit of weight equal to only about 91 grams it is quite possible that all the minerals (or mineral pigments?) listed could have been contained in the jar itself, their total weight amounting to only slightly over sixteen and a half pounds. Parallels to the formulae and other expressions used in these texts occur in the well-known letters of Aḥ-mosē of Pe’n-Yaty, an Upper Egyptian official whose career began under Amun-hotpe I and ended under Thut-mosē III.

Three ★knucklebones, used like dice to determine the moves in a board game, are from the floor of a Theban tomb chamber where they lay amid the rotted remains of the board on which the game was played.

The fragments of two tufted linen ★pads were found near Deir el Bahri in the rubbish thrown out of the early Eighteenth Dynasty cliff tomb which in later times served as the principal cache for the royal mummies of the New Kingdom. Such pads are not infrequently included among the household equipment buried in tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty and it is probable that their uses in and about the house were manifold. They could, for example, be employed as rugs, as chair



and bed covers, as mattresses, as packcloths, and as donkey saddles. Our two present examples were evidently large rectangles of very coarse linen cloth composed in one instance of double and in the other of triple warp and weft strands combined in a simple over-and-under weave. Bunches of six to eight threads, eight inches long, were looped through the fabric at intervals, leaving patterns of small, knotlike bosses on one side and long, closely spaced double tufts, resembling the coat of a long-haired animal, on the other side. On one pad the tufts are arranged in parallel rows ten weft strands apart. On the other they are grouped so as to form an elaborate, over-all diamond pattern. Unlike those of our modern

FIGURE 35. Cosmetic vessels from Theban tombs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Alabaster and yellow limestone. H. $1\frac{3}{4}$ - $6\frac{5}{8}$ in.

pile carpets the patterns are discernible on one side only, disappearing entirely on the tufted, or wrong, sides of the pads.

The weapons shown in figure 36 are without exception from burials of the early Eighteenth Dynasty found in close proximity to one another in a reused Middle Kingdom tomb court at the foot of the 'Asāsīf in western Thebes. Of the two full-size battle \star axes one is of unusual interest because of the preservation of its wooden handle and because enough remained of its intricately plaited rawhide



FIGURE 36. Weapons of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. L. of larger axe 21 ½ in.

lashing to allow it to be accurately restored. The lashing, probably applied in a moist, or green, state, was tightened, first by driving a long, narrow wedge between it and the back of the handle, and second, by the natural shrinkage of the hide as it dried, the two successive steps producing a union of great strength and rigidity between the heavy bronze head and the slender, whippy haft of the weapon. At the head end the underside of the handle is rabbeted to take the straight back of the axe blade which, as can be seen on the unhafted blade, is provided with two laterally projecting spurs for the lashing to bear against. The miniature *★*axe shown with its full-scale counterparts may have been a toy since it was found in the coffin of a child. Here again, both the bronze head and the wooden handle, tipped at the butt end with a ferrule of gold foil, are well preserved, while the lashing has been restored. This type of axe is

one of the most common and most characteristic of all New Kingdom weapons, appearing in the hands of Egyptian foot soldiers and marines in tomb paintings and temple reliefs throughout the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. It was used, presumably, in hand-to-hand fighting and for dispatching wounded enemies laid low by missiles, and may, like the Indian tomahawk, have been employed as a throwing weapon, a use to which its short, springy handle and heavy head make it admirably suited.

In late Hyksos times the old lenticular pommel of the Egyptian dagger was replaced by a straight grip cast in one piece with the blade. This basic change in the design and structure of the weapon permitted the blade to be lengthened until there was achieved the type of arm shown at the left of figure 36, which can properly be called a short *★*sword. An even cubit (20.5 inches) in length, the sword is made of a single piece of bronze, the grip having been once inlaid with carved(?) wooden plates, only rotted traces of which now remain. Both the construction and the design of the weapon appear to have been borrowed by the Egyptians from their Asiatic enemies, the method of casting and the hilt type closely paralleling slightly earlier short swords and daggers of undoubted Asiatic design, including the well-known Hyksos dagger from Saqqāreh with the names of King Neb-khopesh-Rē' Apopy and another, from Thebes(?), with the name of King 'A-ken-en-Rē' Apopy. Its plain grip and blade and slightly rounded point mark our sword as belonging to an early stage in the development of arms of this class, later examples having their grips provided with finger notches and their blades reinforced by longitudinal midribs. Since relatively few swords have survived from the time of the New Kingdom—especially the early New Kingdom—our weapon is something of a rarity. Of its condition Ambrose Lansing, its discoverer, has said, "Wood inlays in the handle have decayed, but the polish is for the most part undimmed and the blade still retains its keen edge and ancient flexibility."²

[2] *M. M. A. Bulletin*, XII (1917), May, Supplement, p. 24.

Six bronze ★points ranging in length from two and nine-sixteenths to five and three-sixteenths inches are probably from light javelins rather than from arrows as has been thought (see fig. 36). Arrows with pointed bronze tips were certainly used by the kings of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and later times; but the typical New Kingdom arrow, like its predecessors of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, was a very light missile of reed tipped with minute flakes of flint or quartz or with slender points of ivory, bone, or hardwood. Bronze points exactly like the ones we are now considering have actually been found on the shafts of javelins, but none, so far as I know, has been discovered on a short, feathered shaft or in direct association with a bow. The points, as can be seen, have elongated diamond-shaped blades strengthened along the center lines by flat, tapered midribs. They are provided with slender tangs, square in section, which fitted into, rather than around, the ends of the wooden shafts.

Not many craftsmen's tools datable to the first two reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty have reached our collection. The tomb chamber of the Overseer Khay, a Theban contemporary of King Amun-hotpe I, yielded a stout bronze adze ★blade, six and a half inches long, having the tapered form,

the knobbed top, and, at the bottom, the slightly curved cutting edge characteristic of this type of tool. A bronze netting ★needle, or shuttle, from an adjoining chamber in the same tomb, is a somewhat elongated version of the hieroglyph —. In this particular implement, which measures eight inches in length, the longitudinal planes of the open loops at the ends of the rod are at right angles to one another, a characteristic which is not apparent in the hieroglyphic sign.

The transition from the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth Dynasty brought with it a number of changes in Egyptian funerary beliefs and customs which are reflected in the Theban tombs of the period, especially in the design and decoration of the coffins and other items of funerary equipment found in these tombs.

Though the *rishi*, or "feathered," coffin adorned with the protective wings of the heaven(?) goddess survived in modified form into the early years of the New Kingdom, the characteristic type is now the white anthropoid coffin decorated with inscribed longitudinal and transverse bands repro-

FIGURE 37. Coffin of Aḥ-mose, son of the Lady Nakhte, from western Thebes. Early Eighteenth Dynasty. L. 90 in.



ducing the broad binding tapes of the bandaged mummy within and recalling, at the same time, the inscribed bands which on the rectangular house coffins of the Old and Middle Kingdoms appear to represent the principal upright members and the beams of the "eternal dwelling." No longer roughly hewn out of sycamore logs, the coffins are constructed of planks skillfully joined together with tenons and dowels, and each is covered on the outside with a coating of white stucco that serves both as the ground color of the coffin and as the base for its painted decoration. The earlier examples still retain to some extent the wedge-shaped faces and angular forms of their *rishi* predecessors and, like these, continue to show on their sides little groups of mourners and other funeral scenes.

Such a ★coffin is that of the Theban Aḥ-mose (fig. 37), son of the House Mistress Nakhte, whose burial in a tomb on the southern slope of the Dirāḥ Abu'n Naga was found almost fifty years ago by the Earl of Carnarvon. The deceased is represented in this hollow, mummiform effigy as wearing on his chin the long, curved beard of the god Osiris, his prototype in immortality, and on his breast, above a vulture with wings outspread, a huge broad collar with falcon-head terminals. Though perhaps regarded as amuletic in nature, the single large *wedjat*-eye in a panel on either side of the coffin box would appear to be a now functionless carry-over from the rectangular coffins of the Middle Kingdom (see Part I, pp. 312 f.). A cursive hieroglyphic label tells us that the lean, black, canine animal crouching upon a shrine in the first panel on the right side of the lid is the god "Anubis who is on his mountain." The two women below, with their hands to their heads in gestures of mourning, are the dead man's wife Ḥapu, and "his daughter Aḥ-mose." Behind, with their hands on their hearts, come "his son Thūty," and "his son Meky-niwetef," the name of the latter meaning "Protector-of-his-town." The wife appears again, on the left side of the coffin, accompanied by a daughter, Tet(?), and by two sons, Neb-seny and Si-Amūn. Figures of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys (the wife and sister of Osiris), kneeling in

mourning upon ∩-signs, adorn the foot end of the lid; and below, on the foot end of the coffin, we see a male offering bearer carrying by means of a long yoke across his shoulders a rectangular basketry hamper and a red pottery jar in a rope sling. The two vertical texts which occupy the long, double band down the center of the lid are both offering formulae. The one on the right which calls upon Osiris, the "Great God who is in the midst of Abydos," is of commonplace type; but the one on the left which invokes the powerful god of Thebes is sufficiently interesting to bear quoting: "An offering which the King gives (to) Amun Rēḥ, King of the Gods, the Lord of Life who grants what is desired, the lord of burial after old age, that he may give glory in heaven, power on earth, and a coming and going in the necropolis to the spirit of Aḥ-mose, born of the House Mistress Nakhte, the justified." The distribution of the colors, which include a dark greenish blue, an ochre yellow, a pinkish red, chalky white, and black, can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy from the photograph.

The ★coffin of another Aḥ-mose, in this case a woman, is also from a Theban tomb chamber of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and is similar in most respects to the one we have just described. Now, however, a figure of and prayer to the sky goddess Nūt have been added to the decoration of the lid, the transverse bands are inscribed with texts referring to or spoken by tutelary divinities of the dead, and figures of the so-called Four Genii of the Dead have replaced those of the mourners in the lateral panels between the bands of inscription (see Part I, pp. 314 ff.). The positions, or stations, of the Four Genii are indicated by references in the transverse bands to the deceased as "one in honor with" such and such a genius, Imsety and Ḥapy as usual flanking the shoulders of the mummy, Dewau-mautef and Ḳebeḥ-snēwef the legs. On the left side of the coffin, for example, the transverse band nearest the head contains the words "one in honor with Ḥapy" and in the adjoining panel stands one of four identical human-headed male figures, clad in a short kilt and long wig of archaic type and representing in this



instance the genius Ḥapy. The inscribed band behind the figure contains the speech traditionally addressed to the deceased by this particular genius: "I am Ḥapy. I have come that I might be your protection, that I might bind to you the chief of your members, that I might place your enemies beneath you, and that I might give you your head forever." Dewau-mautef comes next, preceded by his name and followed by his speech, and on the right side of the coffin we find Imsety and Kebeḥ-snēwef presented in similar fashion. A large standing figure of the goddess Nephthys with arms outspread in protective gesture occupies the foot end of both coffin and lid, the figure accompanied by a brief speech of assurance similar to those of the Four Genii. The goddess Isis is not represented, but on the left side of the coffin near the foot end we find the words "Recitation: 'Ho my mother Isis, come that you may remove the bindings which are on me . . .'" The texts which on this coffin are preserved to us in somewhat corrupt form we shall find repeated again and again on royal and private

FIGURE 38. Coffin of Aḥ-hotpe Ta-nedjem(et) from western Thebes (above and below). Early Eighteenth Dynasty. L. 74 in.

coffins and sarcophagi throughout most of the Eighteenth Dynasty and not infrequently thereafter. Some of them derive ultimately from the Pyramid Texts of hoary antiquity (see Part I, p. 82) and most of them occur together in a version of Spell CLI of the Book of the Dead, the so-called Chapter of the Sepulchral Chamber. Being that of a woman, the coffin is beardless. Its length is just over seventy-seven inches, its maximum width (at the shoulders) almost twenty inches.

With the ★coffin of Aḥ-hotpe Ta-nedjem(et) (fig. 38), whose burial equipment included the two handsome statuettes of her sons (fig. 30), we are approaching the fully developed Eighteenth Dynasty type. The salient characteristics of this box and lid—the long, slender proportions, the large, well-modeled face, the rounded contours of the striped headdress, the graceful profile of the



high foot end—have no longer anything in common with the crude and angular *rishi* type. The decoration, too, in spite of a lingering awkwardness in its style, has nearly achieved the well-articulated, rational arrangement which is to remain standard for centuries to come. On the lid the sky goddess Nūt stretches her arms in a gesture of embrace over the body within the coffin. On the head end the goddess Nephthys and on the foot end the goddess Isis repeat the same protective gesture. Four transverse bands of inscription, springing from either side of the central lid band, indicate the positions of eight tutelary divinities who take their stations on the sides of the coffin and its contents—the Four Genii on either side of the shoulders and legs of the deceased and the great deities Horus, Gēb, Shu, and Tefēnet flanking the mid-section. In the six panels formed by the transverse bands are the identical, human-

headed figures of Horus, Gēb, and the Four Genii, all wearing long, curved beards, long, old-fashioned headdresses, and garments of archaic type appropriate to their status as gods. The figure of every deity represented on the coffin is accompanied by a speech, written in cursive hieroglyphs, which he or she addresses to the deceased person, assuring the latter of various forms of protection.

The canopic, or visceral, jar, rarely present in burials of the Second Intermediate period, reappears at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and is represented in our collection by a set of uninscribed pottery *jars and *stoppers (fig. 39) belonging to a Theban of this time named Katy-nakhte. The jars, one of which was missing, were found in the remains of a canopic chest of early Eighteenth Dynasty style in a chamber of the tomb from which came also Carnarvon Tablet I, the well-known writing board with the account of the struggles of King Ka-mose against the Hyksos. Their date is significant since they appear to be the earliest known examples in which the stoppers vary in form according to the particular

FIGURE 39. Canopic jars of Katy-nakhte from a tomb of the early Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes. Pottery. H. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ -12 in.



Genius of the Dead with whom each jar is associated (see Part I, p. 321). As can be seen, the Imsety jar, like the genius Imsety himself, has a bearded human head, the Dewau-mautef jar a dog or jackal head, and the Ḳebeḥ-snēwef jar a falcon head, while the missing jar—that of the genius Ḥapy—had in all probability a stopper in the form of the head of a cynocephalous ape. Stoppers of this type do not seem to have come into general use before the late New Kingdom, all the other Eighteenth Dynasty canopic jars in our collection and most of those datable to the Nineteenth Dynasty adhering to the Middle Kingdom practice of having human-headed stoppers throughout. In the present set the jars, which are of the squat Middle Kingdom shape, are covered with a semilustrous buff slip while their stoppers are painted to imitate limestone or, perhaps, alabaster. Remains of the bundles containing Katynakhte's viscera are still preserved inside the jars.

Aside from those already discussed, very few of our New Kingdom *shawabty*-figures are datable to the first two reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Among the exceptions is a fragmentary ★figure in rich blue faience found near Deir el Bahri, in the valley below the Cache of Royal Mummies. It is inscribed in horizontal lines with the *shawabty*-spell, the name of the owner having been apparently Ta-Ḳa(t). Interesting characteristics of this figure are its extreme slenderness and the fact that, though it is mummiform, the division between the legs and feet is clearly indicated. Of much the same date but of quite a different type is a painted pottery ★*shawabty* contained in a small rectangular ★coffin, also of painted pottery. The figure, six inches in length, is colored yellow and black and has a shape not unlike that of a *rishi* coffin. Another painted pottery ★*shawabty*-coffin, having a vaulted lid with upward-projecting end pieces, was found empty and broken in a reused late Middle Kingdom tomb at the foot of the

Ḳasāsif valley. A wooden ★*shawabty*-coffin of anthropoid type, seventeen inches in length, crudely carved from a sycamore log, came to us many years ago with the Farman collection.

Through the generosity of Edward S. Harkness the Museum acquired in 1935 an uninscribed alabaster ★*shawabty* of Middle Kingdom type, but probably of early Eighteenth Dynasty date. The admirably carved mummiform figure, six and three-quarters inches in height, wears on its head a full, striated wig with long tabs pendent over the breast and has the enormous, high-set ears so characteristic of the sculptured heads of the Twelfth Dynasty. The proportions and style of the figure, coupled with the fact that the arms are shown crossed over the breast with the hands open, tend, however, to suggest a date subsequent to the Middle Kingdom, and the sophistication and high standard of technical excellence exhibited by the piece seem unlikely to have been achieved during the Hyksos period.

The heart ★scarab of the Overseer Khay, a Theban official of the reign of Amun-hotpe I, is, for its class, relatively small, measuring only an inch and three-sixteenths in length. It is of green jasper, nicely carved and highly polished; but the inscription on its underside is incomplete, giving only the title and name of its owner and the opening words of Chapter XXXB of the Book of the Dead.

In the present chapter we have confined our study to works of art and craftsmanship which can with some confidence be assigned to the first two reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty. There is probably much additional material, especially small objects such as scarabs, amulets, and beads, which may also belong to this period, but which, lacking any positive indication of date, is more safely and advantageously considered with the mass of similar objects produced under the great rulers of the Thutmoside line.